FOREIGN
BROADCAST
INFORMATION
SERVICE

Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-96-029
Monday
12 February 1996

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-96-029

CONTENTS

12 February 1996

NOTICE: This volume contains a representative selection of material previously disseminated in softcopy format.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

NATO: Uncertainty, Concern in Brussels Over Mostar *[TANJUG]* 1

BULGARIA

Bulgaria: Ministry: Chemical Weapons Stock Never Held *[Sofia Radio]* 2
Bulgaria: Videnov Encourages Pan-Balkan Dialogue *[TANJUG]* 2
Bulgaria: Mayor Denies Protests Against Belene Plant *[Sofia Radio]* 2

CZECH REPUBLIC

Czech Republic: Havel on Running Again for President *[Prague Radio]* 3
Czech Republic: Russian Intelligence Activities Noted *[Prague Radio]* 3
Czech Republic: Comment: Russian Threat of Finlandization *[LIDOVE NOVINY 8 Feb]* 3

SLOVAKIA

Slovakia: Kovac on Talks With EU Commissioner *[Bratislava Radio]* 5
Slovakia: Gasparovic on EU Commissioner's Visit *[Bratislava Radio]* 5
Slovakia: Minister on Russian Proposal of Neutral Zone *[PRAVDA 7 Feb]* 6
Slovakia: Russian Ambassador on Joining NATO *[MLADA FRONTA DNES 8 Feb]* 6
Slovakia: Bishops Concerned About Language Law *[SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA 8 Feb]* 7
Slovakia: Meciar Addresses HZDS Supporters *[SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA 8 Feb]* 7
Slovakia: Fico Accepts Candidacy for Post of SDL Head *[PRAVDA 8 Feb]* 9
Slovakia: Technopol Case Investigator 'Very Close' to SIS *[SME 7 Feb]* 9
Slovakia: 90 Investment Funds Cancel Registration *[NARODNA OBRODA 8 Feb]* 9

HUNGARY

Hungary: Kovacs on Bosnia Reconstruction, EU, NATO *[TALLOZO 8 Feb]* 11
Hungary: Horn Defends NATO Membership for Country *[Budapest Radio]* 12
Hungary: Goncz Optimistic About Vojvodina Hungarians *[Budapest Radio]* 12
Hungary: Horn, Ministers Address Country's 'Challenges' *[Budapest Radio]* 12
Hungary: FKGP Leader on Alliance With Opposition *[Budapest Radio]* 13

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

B-H: President Alija Izetbegovic Interviewed *[Sarajevo TV]* 14
B-H: Kasagic Denies Bosnian Serb Boycott of IFOR *[AFP]* 22
B-H: Kasagic: Talks With Bildt, IFOR To Continue *[Banja Luka Radio]* 23
B-H: RS Condemns Serbs' Arrest; Cooperation To Continue *[Pale TV]* 23
B-H: Karadzic 'Has Disowned' Mladic Decision on IFOR *[AFP]* 23
B-H: Karadzic: Serbs Do Not Trust IFOR After Arrests *[SRNA]* 24
B-H: Karadzic Says Serbs Would Never Shoot at IFOR *[Bad Vilbel VESTI 11 Feb]* 24
B-H: Karadzic: Arrest of Serbs 'Heavy Blow' to IFOR *[TANJUG]* 25
B-H: Karadzic: Serbs Will Not Conduct 'Revenge Arrests' *[TANJUG]* 25
B-H: Serbs Urge Hague To Rule on Arrest of Officers *[TANJUG]* 25

B-H: Serb Army Demands Release of War Crime Suspects *[SRNA]* ... 26
B-H: Karadzic Assails Attempts To Reintegrate Bosnia *[SRNA]* ... 26
B-H: Karadzic Warns Against Harmful 'Foreign' Ideas *[Pale TV]* ... 27
B-H: Karadzic 'Delusions' Highlighted by London Daily *[London THE TIMES 12 Feb]* ... 27
B-H: Mostar Croats Reject Koschnick's Arbitration *[Zagreb Radio]* ... 28
B-H: Koschnick Calls Croatian Accusations 'Propaganda' *[Cologne Radio]* ... 29
B-H: Croat Mostar Mayor Interviewed on Koschnick, EU *[Hamburg DER SPIEGEL 12 Feb]* ... 29

CROATIA

Croatia: Granic, Prlic Insist on Cooperation on Mostar *[Zagreb Radio]* ... 31
Croatia: Slovakia's Meciar Arrives in Zagreb *[Bratislava Radio]* ... 31
Croatia: Matesa, Slovak PM Sign Accords, Comment *[Zagreb Radio]* ... 32
Croatia: Slovakia's Meciar Comments on Visit *[Bratislava Radio]* ... 32
Croatia: Law on Cooperation With International Court *[Zagreb Radio]* ... 32
Croatia: Sarajevo Accused of Fanning Non-Bosniak Fears *[VJESNIK 6 Feb]* ... 32
Croatia: E. Slavonia Serbs Said To Resist Disarming *[Beli Manastir Radio]* ... 34
Croatia: Serb Munition Dump Discovered in Gracac *[Zagreb Radio]* ... 34

THE FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA

FYROM: Prime Minister Announces Government Reshuffle *[TANJUG]* ... 36
FYROM: OSCE Envoy, PDP View 'Interethnic' Ties *[Tirana TV]* ... 36

POLAND

Poland: Military on U.S. Report on East European Armies *[ZYCIE WARSZAWY 9 Feb]* ... 37
Poland: Roundup of Warsaw Press on New Cabinet *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 8 Nov etc.]* ... 37
Poland: Politicians Criticize New Cabinet Composition *[GAZETA WYBORCZA 9 Feb etc.]* ... 38
Poland: Miners Demand Dismissal of Industry Minister *[Warsaw Radio]* ... 39
Poland: Daily Says Cimoszewicz Mistrusted by SLD *[GAZETA POZNANSKA 2 Feb]* ... 39
Poland: Gains, Losess of Coalition Partners Viewed *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 7 Feb]* ... 39
Poland: Ombudsman: Media Irresponsible in Oleksy Case *[Warsaw Radio]* ... 41
Poland: Intelligence Chief on 'Oleksy Case,' Media *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 3-4 Feb]* ... 41
Poland: SdRP Secretary General on Oleksy Case *[SLOWO POLSKIE 29 Jan]* ... 44
Poland: Walesa Not To Return to Shipyard *[GAZETA WYBORCZA 9 Feb]* ... 45

ROMANIA

Romania: Hungarian Official Wants Accord for Minorities *[Budapest TV]* ... 47
Romania: UDMR Sets Conditions for Cooperation *[Budapest TV]* ... 47
Romania: USD Appeal on Reconciliation With Hungary *[ROMANIA LIBERA 19 Jan]* ... 47

YUGOSLAVIA

Federal

FRY: Bulatovic, Grachev Issue Joint Statement *[TANJUG]* ... 49
FRY: Army Chief, Russia's Grachev Discuss Obligations *[TANJUG]* ... 49
FRY: Grachev, Bulatovic Discuss NATO, Bosnia *[TANJUG]* ... 49
FRY: Lilic, Russian Defense Minister Hold Talks *[TANJUG]* ... 50
FRY: Sainovic, Russian Minister Discuss Cooperation *[TANJUG]* ... 51
FRY: Bulgaria's Videnov Optimistic on FRY Relations *[Belgrade Radio]* ... 52
FRY: Bulgarian PM Hails Milosevic Role in Peace *[Belgrade Radio]* ... 53
FRY: Bulgarian PM, Kontic View Forthcoming Talks *[TANJUG]* ... 54
FRY: Cooperation With Italy Renewed *[TANJUG]* ... 54

FRY: Deputy FM Expects Normalized EU Ties Soon *[TANJUG]* 55
FRY: Spanish Envoy Says EU Favors Recognizing FRY *[TANJUG]* 55
FRY: Slovene Official on Normalizing Economic Ties *[TANJUG]* 56
FRY: Hungarian Party Urges Upgrade of Relations *[TANJUG]* 56
FRY: Bank Governor on 'Catastrophe' Over Food Costs *[Bad Vilbel VESTI 9 Feb]* 57
FRY: Bank Chief Says Privatization Inevitable *[TANJUG]* 57

Serbia

Serbia: Milosevic-Holbrooke Talks End *[TANJUG]* 57
Serbia: Serbs Pledge To Honor Accord on Srem-Baranja *[TANJUG]* 58
Serbia: Sandzak Leader on Belgrade's Regional Goals *[DNEVNI AVAZ 7 Feb]* 58
Serbia: Milosevic Receives Hungarian Party Leader *[TANJUG]* 59

Montenegro

Montenegro: Djukanovic Denies Karadzic Refused Entry *[TANJUG]* 59
Montenegro: PM Demands Faster Privatization *[TANJUG]* 59

Kosovo

Kosovo: Rugova Urges Independence Rallies in Europe *[AFP]* 60

NATO: Uncertainty, Concern in Brussels Over Mostar

LD0902204596 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1749 GMT 9 Feb 96

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Brussels, Feb. 9 (TANJUG)—The peace process in Bosnia is seriously threatened by the latest events in the divided city of Mostar, southern Bosnia-Herzegovina, observers in E.U. and NATO capitals are saying.

Some believe that the situation in Mostar has completely slipped out of control and that it will not be surprising if E.U. Administrator Hans Koschnik soon decides to give up the practically unsolvable problem of uniting the city, a concept rejected by the Mostar Croats.

The Croat demonstrations and attacks on the E.U. bureau in Mostar and on German politician Koschnik started on Wednesday after he announced a decree under which Mostar would be made up of three Muslim and Croat districts each and a central city zone in which the two nations would divide power.

The sending of U.S. mediator Richard Holbrooke on an urgent mission to Sarajevo, is also a cause of doubt in E.U. sources in view of the earlier division of work according to which Europe should deal with the entire civilian part of the Dayton peace agreement.

The crisis resulting from the arrest of Bosnian Serb army officers by the Sarajevo Muslim authorities, which caused the Bosnian Serbs to break all contacts with the Peace Implementation Force (IFOR), is an additional concern for the European Union and NATO, especially since the Serbs have demonstrated readiness to cooperate with the representatives of the Western alliance.

The Muslim police on Jan. 30 arrested two Serb officers and other members of the Bosnian Serb army on the IFOR-controlled 'blue route' in Sarajevo.

Bulgaria: Ministry: Chemical Weapons Stock Never Held

AU0902172196 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 9 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] At a news conference held at the Foreign Ministry today, a declaration was presented that the government adopted in closed session on 1 February. The declaration states that, during the last 50 years, Bulgaria has never held stocks of chemical weapons and never made any preparations for their production.

Bulgaria: Videnov Encourages Pan-Balkan Dialogue

LD1102141796 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1343 GMT 11 Feb 96

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sofia, Feb. 11 (TANJUG)—Bulgarian Prime Minister Zhan Videnov has said his country and Yugoslavia should help resume a pan-Balkan dialogue, especially in the domains of security and stability.

Videnov told TANJUG ahead of his visit to Yugoslavia on Monday that the two countries should protect the notion of the Balkans as an integral part of Europe and central point for infrastructural and telecommunication systems without which integration processes would not be possible.

'We must become the centre of development in the years to come as well as in the 21st century,' Videnov said.

'Bulgaria and Yugoslavia can set a very good example of maximum unity in the name of the pan-European goal. That is why I am confident that the Balkans will have a better future,' he said.

Videnov said the Balkans had not only been a part of Europe but had also been its very important part where three civilisations crossed—Western, Mediterranean and Slavic.

It is not unimportant that the Balkans is now trying to prove that the role of this crossroads can be successful in the 21st century, too, he said.

'Goodneighbourly relations among Balkan states now appear to be vital for proving that the role (of the crossroads), which brought only misery to these states and Europe in the past, can now be placed in the service of the pan-Balkan interest as well as in the interest of a united Europe,' he said.

Videnov said Bulgaria paid much attention to promotion of goodneighbourly relations with Yugoslavia and urged a resumption of political dialogue with it. He said the two peoples had strengthened ties while Yugoslavia was under a regime of the U.N. sanctions.

He said his country had been firmly committed to a policy of staying neutral in the conflict in the former Yugoslavia, saying it had equally treated all parties to the conflict.

He said Bulgaria was among the first to advocate the lifting of the U.N. Security Council sanctions against Yugoslavia, urging at the same time that the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina be settled peacefully.

This has proved to be a good investment in promotion of relations and in peace processes in the Balkans in which Yugoslavia and Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic have played a vital role, he said.

Videnov said he would discuss in Belgrade the status of ethnic Bulgarians, primarily in an attempt to contribute to a constructive development of bilateral relations and not to exert pressure.

He said Sofia was aware that ethnic Bulgarians were granted all rights in Yugoslavia.

'Our view is that no Balkan state should have any claims to territory or population of its neighbours. On the contrary, these factors must be used for promotion of bilateral and multilateral relations,' he said.

Videnov also said there was no secret agenda between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria nor obstacles and problems that could not be overcome. He said the two countries could show in practice what goodneighbourly relations were.

Bulgaria: Mayor Denies Protests Against Belene Plant

AU1002023296 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1800 GMT 9 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] In connection with press reports of protests in Svishtov against the construction of the second nuclear plant at Belene, Belene Mayor Petur Dulev declared that no political forces, public organizations, or municipal councillors have officially declared their opposition to the building of the plant. Before the end of February, a special commission will report to the Belene Municipal Council an updated viewpoint on this issue, taking into account the increasing unemployment and the unfinished infrastructure of the Danubian town. The document will be submitted to the National Assembly for its consideration.

Czech Republic: Havel on Running Again for President

LD1102144296 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1315 GMT 11 Feb 96

[Studio interview with Czech President Vaclav Havel by Robert Tamchyna in Prague; date not given; from the "Conversations at Lany" program—live or recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Tamchyna] A few days ago it was the third anniversary of your election to the post of Czech president. [passage omitted] What about the question you are frequently asked at your briefings?

[Havel] You certainly mean the question if I am going to run again. Whenever I am asked this question I say that I cannot answer it, that I am unable to give a yes or no answer.

If I say that I want to run again, I might quickly become a very easy target for blackmailing. It is because any political party could ask me to support whatever they do or propose, implying that, if I fail to support it, they would not vote for me. I would thus, to a certain extent, become a hostage of those parties.

On the other hand, if I say I do not intend to run again, I would probably even lose that authority that I perhaps enjoy. It is because I would be necessarily perceived as a president approaching his retirement, a president-pensioner. They would spend most of the time discussing who would take over once I have gone. This would make my functioning in the post a bit more difficult. This is why I cannot answer such a question. Anyway, it is a very premature question because I have another two years to go in my post. [passage omitted]

Czech Republic: Russian Intelligence Activities Noted

LD0902220096 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1700 GMT 9 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] A report on Russian spies in the Czech Republic, published in FRONTA DNES, has been reprinted by almost all Russian media. Our Moscow correspondent David Stahlavsky managed to obtain an exclusive interview with Yuriy Kobaladze, director of the press department of the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service.

[Begin recording] [Stahlavsky] Russian intelligence does not view Central and East Europe as its priority spheres of interest. At the same time, the diplomatic status remains a traditional disguise for spies, although there are other possibilities for their cover.

[Kobaladze, in Russian fading into Czech report] The physical presence of Russian spies has become shorter in every country, Kobaladze claims. No Czech Government official has reacted to the report in MLADA FRONTA DNES and so Kobaladze views the whole matter just as a media scandal.

Asked whether the Foreign Intelligence Service could confirm or deny reports that its agents were operating on the territory of the Czech Republic, Yuriy Kobaladze said that the Foreign Intelligence Service had never claimed that it would pack it in abroad.

We continue our intelligence work, but we are doing nothing more than other intelligence services. Kobaladze conceded that Stalin's ban on recruiting spies in the countries of Central and East Europe is no longer valid. Besides other things, Russian intelligence has been building partnership with the Czech Republic, and it maintains contact with representatives of Czech special services, especially the intelligence service. However, the Russian intelligence service does not focus on a single region of the world. We are interested in both East and West Europe, the Middle East, and the United States; otherwise we would not be an intelligence service, Yuriy Kobaladze said in an exclusive interview with Czech radio. [end recording]

Czech Republic: Comment: Russian Threat of Finlandization

AU1002010596 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 8 Feb 96 p 2

[Commentary by B. Pecinka: "Russia and Central Europe"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Whether it was an indiscretion or done on purpose is neither here nor there. The fact is, extracts from the top secret annual report of the Czech Security Information Service (BIS) intended for members of the government and deputies in the Chamber of Deputies' supervisory body have been published in the Czech media. It is apparent from them that, in recent months, Russia has altered the strategy for the work of its secret services in relation to the Czech Republic. While, until now, the objective of Russian intelligence was the passive gathering of information, it is apparently supposed to have reverted to the means of traditional political espionage a few months ago—namely, directly influencing political events and attempting to render impossible the Czech Republic's admission to NATO.

First of all, let us answer a question on the purpose of secret services. Generally, they are divided into intelligence (targeting foreign countries) and counterintelligence (on the state's territory). The task of a secret service is to protect the state from the activity of the intelligence services of foreign countries, to penetrate their structures, and to uncover their plans. It is also supposed to monitor the infiltration of international terrorism and to gather information on groups espousing antistate activity. The purpose of these institutions is to anticipate, over the longer term, possible conflicts and risks to the state's security. Special services, of course, do not live in a vacuum. Their activity ensues from a given state's security doctrines and interests. Those of a major power will be different from those of small countries, and those of a democracy will differ from those of an authoritarian regime.

The strategic priorities of the Czech lands are unequivocal: incorporation as fast as possible into European structures and NATO. One does not have to be too sharp an observer to derive from the statements made by Russian politicians in recent years that Russia's geopolitical interests in the Central European region are precisely the opposite. Russia's ideal is, no doubt, to introduce something a la the Finlandization of Central Europe—in other words, to turn this area into a zone of neutral states under Russian guardianship. We can only speculate on how the Russian secret services will attempt to promote their new strategy. One of the possibilities is, undoubtedly, support for those politicians and groups that endorse the same interests. We only have to recall the postwar governments and the activity of certain individuals (Fierlinger, Svoboda) who became involved in a specific manner with the Russian Bolsheviks. A typical example may be the exposure of Finnish President Urho Kekkonen as a KGB collaborator, who was installed in his post and supported for many years by the Soviet Government. For this reason, the illusion of so-called Finlandization crumbled, a Finlandization that led to the restricted foreign political sovereignty of Finland and to the USSR's covert interference in the internal affairs of this Nordic country. The maneuvering of Russian diplomats in Belarus, the Baltic countries, and, recently, in Slovakia suggests that Russia could attempt a modified version of Finlandization in the Czech lands. The fact that an advocate of this idea (and an ardent opponent of the Central European countries' entry into NATO) and a former head of the KGB, Yevgeniy Primakov, recently became Russia's foreign minister also implies this. It is also worth remembering that, two years ago, Primakov visited the Czech Republic in the company of the man who ran the KGB's office in Prague in the 1980's. Interior Minister Ruml expressed his undisguised amazement at this at that time.

It is pointless to speculate how accurate the individual facts in the secret BIS report are. That is, Russia has been making it clear with each political gesture recently that something similar can, to say the least, be expected from its side.

Slovakia: Kovac on Talks With EU Commissioner

LD1002001196 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1700 GMT 9 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] EU Commissioner Hans van den Broek today met Slovak President Michal Kovac, who is interviewed by our editor Jan Baranek.

[Begin recording] [Kovac] [Passage omitted] Our talks were friendly and open. Commissioner van den Broek clearly described Slovakia as an important country whose place was within the European Union, stressing at the same time that the same criteria applied for all countries.

I strove to emphasize several positive facts. First, the opinion polls carried out so far have revealed a positive attitude toward the EU. The government, the president, and the opposition are united in their view on EU membership. In the past two years, we have managed to achieve positive economic results. We hope Slovakia will be among the countries given an opportunity to join the EU in the first phase.

[Baranek] To turn this into reality, Slovakia needs to solve the problems that caused diplomatic demarches at the end of last year. [passage omitted]

[Kovac] In this context, I asked van den Broek whether he sees any difference between Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Poland and, if so, what this difference is. Indirectly responding to my question, he said that all countries have roughly the same chance but that the EU naturally has studied and will continue to study the development of the internal political situation, above all with regard to democracy. He stressed once again that constitutional institutions need to be stable and cooperate with each other. He put an emphasis on strengthening democracy and the principles of the rule of law.

I said that, in my view, we should take the demarches seriously and that I consider them to be friendly pointers and an expression of the EU states' interest that Slovakia preserve its image of a country with a chance to join the EU among the first.

[Baranek] [Passage omitted] How should these problems be tackled, in your view, so as not to exclude ourselves from the countries that are to be accepted into the EU in the first round? What is the best way?

[Kovac] As regards our economic development, I think we really have a realistic chance when compared with other countries. The important thing is to preserve this state of affairs and keep this pace of our economic development this year and in the years to come. Much depends on two aspects. First, it is important that a healthy social atmosphere exist in our country and that the space for healthy competition of individual economic entities is expanded. Second, trust of potential foreign investors in Slovakia needs to be increased. I think we need to take steps in support of the belief that Slovakia is strong enough to continue strengthening democracy and the principles of the state of law. [end recording]

Slovakia: Gasparovic on EU Commissioner's Visit

LD0902173696 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 9 Feb 96

[Interview with Slovak Parliament Speaker Ivan Gasparovic by correspondents Jarmila Tosecka and Zuzana Stukovska; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Correspondent] We would like to know something about the coming meeting with the European Commission member Hans van den Broek, who will come to Slovakia for a brief visit—only 24 hours, in fact—but whose visit could have a significant impact on Slovakia's entry in the European Union.

According to sources in Brussels, the commissioner will ask for an explanation about our political development, some legislative measures, and information concerning human rights and the rights of ethnic minorities. Allegedly, Hans van den Broek also expects that our top officials, including you, Mr. Speaker, will convince him that the political situation in Slovakia has changed as a result of last year's demarches.

So, are you sufficiently armed with arguments?

[Gasparovic] I think that when Mr. van den Broek comes here he will not be in a position to do what you said, that he will come here to test us and patronize us and tell us how to do things. We have our own jurisdiction that is in line with the European one, and we proceed according to this jurisdiction.

I do not think the question of demarches that you have mentioned here should poison the atmosphere any longer because already at the joint committee of the European Union Parliamentary Assembly and the Slovak Parliament we explained to each other the points raised in the demarches. We also discussed whether using such a method of communication with the Slovak Republic was justified .

I dare say that the use of demarches and embargoes is not the best possible way to achieve things because a demarche or an embargo can influence politics to a certain extent, but what is worse is that it will have a negative impact on the population.

Looking at the whole thing from this point of view, I do not think we will discuss with Mr. van den Broek whether we have met all of the demands contained in the demarches. We have to forget about this. It was here, but it is not here any more because not in a single instance has it been proved that we have done anything that would be a breach of legal standards.

Let us finish with the demarches. I believe that our talks with van den Broek will be about Slovakia's paths on the way to Europe and about how we are dealing with some other issues that, unfortunately, still are a problem in our country. We have to look for new and more intensive ways of improving the social conditions of our population. That is what worries us.

Slovakia: Minister on Russian Proposal of Neutral Zone

AU1002181996 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 7 Feb 96 p 1

[Report by "ao": "Bratislava Rejects Kokoshin's Proposal for Neutral Zone Between NATO and Slovakia"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Bratislava—[Passage omitted] Yesterday we asked Defense Minister Jan Sitek for his reaction to the proposal of Andrey Kokoshin, deputy minister of defense of the Russian Federation, for the creation of a neutral zone in Central Europe made during the weekend at the Munich conference on security policy. Through his press spokesman Frantisek Kasicky, we received the following statement from the minister:

"The enlargement of the North Atlantic Alliance and the building of a new and stable European security architecture associated with it are currently in the process of development. The proposal of Andrey Kokoshin, Russian deputy minister of defense, represents one of the opinion aspects of this development. In this context it is very important to clearly define the relationship between Russia and the alliance. The approaching presidential elections in Russia and the United States, which can influence a great deal, will play their role, however."

Slovakia: Russian Ambassador on Joining NATO

AU1002203996 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 8 Feb 96 p 8

[Interview with Sergey Yastrzhembskiy, ambassador of the Russian Federation to Slovakia, by Karol Wolf in Bratislava; date not given: "Slovakia Understands Us, Says the Russian Ambassador"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—Sergey Yastrzhembskiy, ambassador of the Russian Federation to Slovakia, belongs to the new generation of Russian diplomacy, whose task is to reestablish Russian influence in Central Europe. Furthermore, the congenial 40-year-old makes no secret of the fact that his contacts among the Slovak ruling elite are exceptionally good.

[Wolf] Russian-Slovak contacts are indisputably far more dynamic than, for instance, Russia's contacts with the Czech Republic, Poland, and Hungary. Why?

[Yastrzhembskiy] There are no differences in Russia's approach to the countries of Central Europe, including the Visegrad Four countries. Naturally, we are interested in dispelling in these countries the notion that Russia is a country with a "Soviet image." This pseudonotion is, unfortunately, often misused in concocting myths about the nonexistent Russian threat. As far as Slovakia is concerned, we can state with satisfaction that these factors are ceasing to play a dominant role. I would even venture to say that Moscow and Bratislava have managed, as the first duo in the postsocialist region, to create a new model for mutual relations. Undoubtedly, Prime Ministers Chernomyrdin and Meciar are primarily responsible for this.

[Wolf] Do you think Russian influence may have an effect on Bratislava's officially declared endeavor to strive for admission to NATO? Some observers point out that Slovakia is not giving the impression that its decision would be as comprehensive and clear as, for instance, that of the other Visegrad countries.

[Yastrzhembskiy] We are well aware that one of the aims of the Slovak Government's policy statement is entry into NATO. But we also know that the whole of society, and not only in Slovakia, is far from being in agreement with this aim. We know of influential forces here that have a different concept for the country's security. In any case, this is a matter for Slovakia's citizens, just as it is for the citizens of all of the countries in Central Europe. They have the right to decide. But the citizens of Russia also have a similar right to express their concerns about NATO expansion, and we very much appreciate the fact that Bratislava respects our concerns. We are also registering a similar approach in Western countries, but, unfortunately, not in Prague, Budapest, or Warsaw. From this point of view, Bratislava, to our pleasure, is really different.

[Wolf] What actually is Russia's concept for Central Europe's security? You say that entry into NATO is a matter for these states, but, in the same breath, you issue the threat that Russia will have to defend itself. Do you perceive NATO as an enemy?

[Yastrzhembskiy] The discussions surrounding the security of the Central European region, through no fault of Russia's, have reached the position that only NATO can guarantee security. As a consequence of this, mistrust in Russia is increasing, old fears are being revived, and new myths—such as, for instance, the myth about a security vacuum—are being created. Pronouncements have even been made recently in some Central European countries in favor of deploying the Alliance's nuclear weapons in this region. These ideas are now being propagated by politicians who just "yesterday"—in 1991, when Soviet troops withdrew from the bases in Central Europe—assured Moscow that they do not intend to join NATO, to say nothing of deploying the Alliance's nuclear weapons on their territories. It is easy to imagine against which country NATO's nuclear policy will be oriented if it is influenced by such avid newcomers.

[Wolf] In your opinion, then, an enlarged NATO would be Russia's enemy?

[Yastrzhembskiy] We are just saying that Russia cannot take lying down the fundamental change in the ratio of forces that NATO enlargement would mean. We are in favor of extensive cooperation between Russia and NATO. It could eradicate our concerns that we will be left out of the game, and, at the same time, the prerequisites could thus be created for improving relations between Russia and the countries of Central Europe.

[Wolf] Your diplomatic mission in Slovakia is, without a doubt, a success. How do you explain the fact that your colleagues in Prague, Warsaw, and Budapest do not have such success and cannot, for example, state like you that the local governments understand Russia's concerns to the extent that Bratislava does?

[Yastrzhembskiy] I cannot, of course, comment on the work of my colleagues or on the stances and behavior of the governments of these countries. As far as my mission in Bratislava is concerned, I can say only one thing. If you ascertain that there is the will on the other side to overcome prejudices and to approach issues without artificial ideologization, it would be a mistake for any diplomat not to take advantage of such an opportunity.

Slovakia: Bishops Concerned About Language Law

AU1002012096 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 8 Feb 96 p 7

[TASR Report: "Slovak Bishops"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—Slovak bishops have expressed solidarity with their Hungarian counterparts concerned about the rights of the ethnic Hungarian minority in Slovakia. The new Slovak language law means for Hungarians in Slovakia a severe curtailment in the use of their mother tongue, Hungarian bishops stated in a letter to representatives of the Slovak Catholic Church.

In a written reply, the Slovak Bishops Conference stressed that it had already taken steps in the interest of members of minorities in Slovakia. By filing a protest, they achieved, for example, that weddings need not be held only in the Slovak language. On the other hand, however, the Slovak Government rejected the demand that the church itself decide which language to use on public occasions because the church cannot determine language issues.

Slovakia: Meciar Addresses HZDS Supporters

AU1002203296 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA (SLOVENSKO DO TOHO! supplement) in Slovak 8 Feb 96 pp I, IV

["Substantial part of the introductory speech" by Vladimir Meciar, Slovak prime minister and HZDS chairman, at the HZDS rally at the Na Pasienkoch indoor stadium in Bratislava on 1 February: "This Year Will Be Even Better Than Last; The Slovak Path Is Finding Successors"]

[FBIS Translated Text]

The World Is Starting To Accept Us

We have started to notice recently that the world's reaction to developments in Slovakia has changed substantially and has become more objective. Facts cannot be obliterated by lies because they speak a clear language. The international public, too, is starting to accept us. Whereas previously they asked us why we were not doing what the others were doing, today they tell us: What you were doing was good because your path is yielding results.

We are interested in coping peacefully with all of the problematic issues at home by discussion and agreement. This is why, at the end of last year, we tried to propose some kind of a "nonaggression pact" to the president. Unfortunately, our proposals were turned down. Quite the reverse, at the beginning of this year we received plenty of threats regarding all of the things that would be done abroad. Well, we will endure this. We were interested in responding to the pressures of political parties, which were clamoring for their own representatives in OKO [special parliamentary body for supervising the Slovak Information Service]. We proposed Jozef Pribilinec from the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL], the Olympic champion [in walking], who had been in the Army as well as in the Police, but they do not want him. So they need not complain in Strasbourg [seat of Council of Europe].

As for our recent visit to Yugoslavia, we are interested in peace setting in there, and we have done quite a bit for it. This is why our delegation enjoyed great respect, attention, and manifestations of friendship. Only when one comes into direct contact with the realities of life can one appreciate how good it was that Slovakia came into being peacefully. Their volume of production has dropped to 50 percent of the 1990 level, and, which is much worse, the war meant for them irrecoverable loss of life. Apart from that, they estimate all of the economic losses at $150 billion. All ties of cooperation that existed among individual republics have been severed. This is why they are intensively looking for cooperation and assistance today. I think we did the right thing when we promised that Slovaks would help them. We asked them how they wanted to proceedr in reconstructing their society and their economy. It was pleasant to hear that they want to pursue the Slovak path.

Meetings With Compatriots

We also met with our compatriots, who have been living there for 250 years and who speak a beautiful, pure Slovak. They are educated, cultured people. There are 63,000 of them, and they all love their language, their region of origin, and nation, but, at the same time, they are loyal to the state in which they live, they do not isolate themselves in any way. I am sorry that they cannot live here at home, but, on the other hand, it is good that they are there because they unite us and do not cause divisions like some other minorities.

The businessmen in our delegation had good and useful meetings. To prove that we approach both parties that have until recently been at war equally, a delegation in the same composition will soon go to Croatia, with the same respect and with the wish that its peace may last and mutual cooperation thrive.

Slovakia in the European Context

An economic forum was held in Bratislava, at which we presented the real economic development in our country. It was received very well, which even the opposition press cannot conceal. Experts—for example, those from the renowned world organization Nomura—evaluate the situation so that, among the countries of Central and East Europe, the safest and most stable shares are currently in Slovakia. Of course, we cannot fail to see some things happening around us. We follow developments in the Czech Republic and are interested in Czech-German relations to be settled as soon as possible. At the same time, we are trying to find an explanation for the talk about complete bilateral indemnification. We were in Slovenia, where something similar is being spoken of in relation to Italy. Slovakia, too, was a participant in World War II, and we are therefore going to ask the United States, Britain, France, and Russia whether this talk is supposed to mean a revision of World War II.

As far as the development in neighboring countries is concerned, we evaluate it soberly. We have had talks with the Ukrainians. The talks were businesslike, they expressed interest in cooperation, and they, too, want to implement their reforms the Slovak way. Our direction is gathering momentum.

The Next Tasks

We are in store for a lot of work this month. We will work intensively on the preparation of laws that we promised you. This concerns the law on the protection of the Republic, but we are working very hard al[illegible] the new territorial and administrative arrangeme[illegible] f Slovakia so that administration returns to some former district towns. This will give a positive impetus to the development of Slovakia as a whole, a number of cities will grow, and large cities such as Bratislava, Nitra, Trnaya, Trencin, Zilina, Banska Bystrica, Presov, and Kosice will become regional capitals. Administration will be divided, but the unity of the territory of Slovakia will be preserved. It transpires from our very method of implementing territorial arrangement that any fears that we would want to create ethnically pure territories, separated by borders, are groundless. The territory is integral [celistve], and citizens are equal in their rights and duties.

Of course, this is a very serious intervention. Besides, everyone is defending his own small town or wants his village to be declared a city so that it can become a district capital. If we opted for this path, we would already have over 130 district capitals. That is impossible. The number will be somewhat smaller, but, at any rate, territorial administration will move closer to the people so that they can settle their affairs at the shortest possible distance from their place of residence. Some people will be satisfied more with the ultimate solution, some less, but it is impossible to satisfy everyone. At any rate, our endeavor is to improve the present state of affairs. Regarding developments in the economic sphere, we expect to adopt laws and government measures that will set housing construction in motion and will speed up the construction of highways because much needs to be done to realize our many plans.

We expect the rate of unemployment to decline, we have also discussed some social issues. We are looking into the near future—that is, into 1996—with the hope that it will be better than last year and worse than next year.

Slovakia: Fico Accepts Candidacy for Post of SDL Head

AU1002184196 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 8 Feb 96 p 2

[Article by "ao": "Party of the Democratic Left: Robert Fico Accepts Candidacy"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—Robert Fico, chairman of the Common Choice Club of Deputies, considers the recently approved law on the immorality and illegitimacy of the communist system bad from both the political and legal viewpoints. Party of the Democratic Left [SDL] deputies will wait to see whether the president signs this legislative norm. If he does sign it, they will initiate proceedings before the Constitutional Law because Article 4 of the law permits the law's retroactivity, which is anticonstitutional. Robert Fico announced that he has officially accepted candidacy for the post of SDL chairman. He stressed that his aim is finally to solve the issue of the SDL's position on the political scene. It will either be a strictly opposition party or a party that can envisage cooperation even with the government coalition, provided certain conditions are met. He observed that, as a pragmatic lawyer, he can imagine both solutions. However, there exists no third, middle path. According to Fico, the SDL's possible joining the government must not mean that it will implement the election program of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia. That would mean the SDL's death. Its entry into the government would have to bring about the revival of political style and the fulfillment of the party's own program.

Slovakia: Technopol Case Investigator 'Very Close' to SIS

AU1002163396 Bratislava SME in Slovak 7 Feb 96 p 4

[Article by Peter Toth: "Connections of Warrant for Michal Kovac Jr.'s Arrest"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Following the kidnapping of the Slovak president's son, the assumption surfaced that the decision to abduct him to Austria was made after the plan to discredit him through the Technopol case failed. There are witnesses among members of the Slovak Republic Police Corps who can confirm that the investigation of the Technopol case has been influenced by high-level state functionaries. For the time being, these witnesses do not want to step out of anonymity. Nevertheless, they have imparted important information, according to which the most senior Ministry of Interior officials have been pressuring criminal prosecution bodies to gather evidence that would prove the Slovak president's son guilty of participation in the Technopol fraud case. [passage omitted]

The government daily SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA published the warrant for the arrest of Michal Kovac Jr., issued by the Munich prosecutor on 18 November 1994, in March 1995. Following media accusations that the police are not interested in documenting the criminal activity of Michal Kovac Jr., investigators were taken off the Technopol case. Subsequently, a new investigating group was formed under the management of Simovcek, director of the Criminal Police Administration. Jaroslav S., following his installation as director of Slovak Information Service [SIS] Counterintelligence, contacted the investigators of this case. In July 1995, Jaroslav S. illegally obtained the numbers of foreign bank accounts of all suspects in the Technopol case. In the course of June and July 1995, political pressure on Criminal Police Administration Director Simovcek was stepped up. He was to obtain evidence against Michal Kovac Jr. so that his criminal prosecution could be initiated. On the basis of pressure from the Ministry of Interior and the Police Corps Presidium, Simovcek later had to leave his post. It was filled by A. Manak,. who, according to our sources, is very close to SIS and is supposed to be the coexecutor [spoluvykonavatel] of Counterintelligence chief Jaroslav S.'s operation against the president's son.

Until his abduction on 31 August 1995, Slovak investigators did not obtain any evidence against Michal Kovac Jr. concerning his participation in the Technopol case. Only on 27 December 1995 did investigator Major Valiencik charge the president's son with instigating [navadzanie] the criminal act of fraud. The charge is based on facts that are not part of the Slovak investigation file but are recorded in the Munich prosecutor's file. Slovak investigators have not even succeeded in questioning P. Krylov, on the basis of whose testimony Michal Kovac Jr. was charged in Germany.

Slovakia: 90 Investment Funds Cancel Registration

AU1002012196 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 8 Feb 96 p 1

[Report by CTK: "State Will Pay 45 Million Korunas to Abolished Investment Funds"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Bratislava—Of the 166 investment funds registered in Slovakia for the second wave of coupon privatization, 90 have asked the Ministry of Finance for cancellation of their registration and the payment of a lump-sum compensation of 500,000 Slovak korunas [Sk], Jana Hostynova, of the Slovak Finance Ministry's Capital Market Section, told CTK. Only if these two conditions are met (application for cancellation and application for lump-sum compensation) will the funds qualify, in accordance with the amended Law No. 92, for compensation from the state for the financial losses they incurred during the preparation of the second wave of coupon privatization. According to Hostynova, 90 funds had met these two conditions by the 15 December 1995 deadline stipulated by law. The other 76 investment funds will not receive any compensation for the abolished second wave of coupon privatization. This lump-sum compensation for funds will cost the state almost Sk45 million. [passage omitted]

Hungary: Kovacs on Bosnia Reconstruction, EU, NATO

AU0902193796 Budapest TALLOZO in Hungarian 8 Feb 96 p 259

[Interview with Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs by Pal Eotvos, Andras Kereszty, Ilona Kocsi, Peter N. Nagy, and Peter Nemeth on the Nap-Nyugta program of A3 Television on 31 January: "Laszlo Kovacs: 'There Were Not Really Any Names'"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] This time, Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs was the guest of the forum of chief editors. Those who questioned him were Pal Eotvos (NEPSZABADSAG), Andras Kereszty (NEPSZAVA), Ilona Kocsi (VILAGGAZDASAG), Peter N. Nagy (MAGYARORSZAG), and program moderator Peter Nemeth.

[Eotvos] You visited Sarajevo a few days ago. In your view, how long will it take to rebuild the successor states of the former Yugoslavia and what chances can you see for Hungary's participation in this?

[Kovacs] When it could already be seen that the stances were getting closer to peace, we started to increase our efforts to indicate our intention to participate in the reconstruction. At all of the latest conferences, I strongly emphasized that the countries neighboring the former Yugoslavia had suffered great losses. Hungary suffered some $2.5 billion losses, which mainly resulted from the loss of transit traffic. No kind of international organization will ever compensate us for these losses, this is precisely the reason we argued that participation in the reconstruction could be a kind of compensation. At the London Bosnia conference, we managed to achieve that the decision accepted there contained a sentence stating that the neighboring countries had to be given increased priority in the process of reconstruction. The fact that we wish to set up a very small mission in Sarajevo also serves our presence. Rather than a diplomatic presence, I am mainly thinking of an economic and trade expert who, with his attention, would ensure our involvement in the reconstruction actions. The atmosphere can be said to be politically friendly, because Hungary is seen in Bosnia as a country which had supported the survival of this small country. Unfortunately, I cannot estimate how long the reconstruction will take, because this is mainly the area of building experts, but I could see from the car that the roads and the buildings were still full of the signs of war, which means that the construction industry will very much be needed, but the same also applies to the public transport vehicles.

[Kocsi] However, an adequate financing background is also needed for these investments.

[Kovacs] In this, on one hand, I am requesting political support from the Muslim countries that could finance the reconstruction, but do not have enough professional companies, and on the other hand, I can also sense some kind of understanding in the Western countries toward giving something also to the neighboring countries which had suffered losses. [passage omitted]

[Kocsi] A committee to oversee integration has been set up in the Prime Minister's Office. Did you support the establishment of this group or did you not express your opinion on it?

[Kovacs] I did express my opinion to such an extent that, at the prime minister's request, the Foreign Ministry itself drew up the concept. The prime minister started from the point that talks on admission are getting closer and, if all goes according to plan, the EU Committee will establish its opinion on the suitability of all 12 associate member countries by summer 1997. The EU summit will bring the final decision, but this, by all probability, will be an approval of the committees' opinion. According to the current state of affairs, Hungary will be part of this small group of countries. Beginning these talks will result in a new situation and it will also be the beginning of preparations. At the moment, we have an interdepartmental integration committee that, in my view, has functioned very well uso far. The structure is rather complicated, but so is integration itself. I consider EU membership to be very important for Hungary's future because it involves everything, including politics, and the economic and legal systems among others. This will make Hungary into a truly Euro-conforming country that is connected to and fitted among Europe's most developed countries with a thousand links.

[Kereszty] We have a contest situation in which 12 of us are running to get through the EU's doors, but will this not create a situation in which we so badly want to get there but we will be unable to bargain adequate conditions for ourselves in the coming decades?

[Kovacs] I think that talks will first be started with those countries that appear to be suitable for admission. Therefore, the competition will be in the preparation—rather than in who can make a lower offer to the EU, it will be with which country can claim that it has become mature for membership on an economic and legal basis. I feel that Hungary will fight this contest with a good chance and will be in this first round. After this, there will not be a competition at the talks, because every country will have to fight its own battle individually. However, the Austrians, for example, have promised help in this respect; namely, in how to talk to the EU.

[Kocsi] Is there any connection between joining NATO and the European Union?

[Kovacs] There is. From the outset, we said, about the government's whole integration concept which we call euro-atlantic integration, that we approach these two organizations in a kind of unity. The conditions partly overlap anyway. In the recent period, let us say in the past six months, we have felt that in the attitude of the leading countries of NATO and the European Union the two issues are becoming ever closer connected; therefore, I believe that we chose the correct direction. Naturally, the connection is not mechanical and does not mean that the European Union will not start the talks until NATO makes a step in the issue. I will not make predictions on which one will start the talks first, because a whole program could be filled by listing the arguments on which one should start them for what reasons and when. However, one point is very important: The Central European countries wishing to join the European Union are definitely expected to have the commitment also to join NATO. [passage omitted]

Hungary: Horn Defends NATO Membership for Country

LD1002122696 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 10 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Yesterday, Lajos Schmidt and Andrew Sarlos had different positions regarding Hungary's NATO entry. The former said that NATO should be kept here, but Sarlos warned against our NATO aspirations against Russia's will. Gyula Horn replied that both were personal views. He added that the government has a firm view on this issue:

[Begin Horn recording] We expect security guarantees from NATO. On the other hand, we are not turning the issue into a campaign. It is out of the question that Hungary's entry would weaken Russia's security. On the contrary. As it would be a stabilization factor, stabilization in its neighborhood would also serve its interests. [end recording]

In reply to a statement by Imre Szekeres, leader of the Hungarian Socialist Party's [HSP] parliamentary deputies group, that the HSP was considering to stay away from the debate and the voting on the agent law, Gyula Horn said:

[Begin Horn recording] We must not apply and we will not apply any pressure to influence who should face one's past and how. However, those state officials who accept their posts must also accept that their past be disclosed. The third thing is that it is my constitutional duty as the country's prime minister to guarantee the country's security. I cannot allow any step which would weaken the activity of these state security services, because that would endanger the country's security. [end recording]

Hungary: Goncz Optimistic About Vojvodina Hungarians

LD1102142996 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1300 GMT 11 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Hungarian President Arpad Goncz believes that the situation of the Hungarian minority in Serbia can easily be settled. In an interview with UJVIDEKI MAGYAR SZO, Arpad Goncz stated that the number of Hungarians in Vojvodina [Vajdasag] has decreased and the ethnic composition of the region has changed, but refugees had somewhere in which to return. Arpad Goncz pointed out that the Hungarians of Vojvodina were loyal citizens of Yugoslavia, ready for coexistence. He hoped that the majority—the state and the nation—would acknowledge this not only with words but also with deeds. The Hungarian president called for the restoration of the unity of Vojvodina Hungarians, otherwise the community will fall apart.

Hungary: Horn, Ministers Address Country's 'Challenges'

LD0902140296 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 9 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] According to Prime Minister Gyula Horn, the transformation that Hungary is currently undergoing is determined to succeed. Finance Minister Lajos Bokros said, at the opening of an international conference called "Hungary 2000," that it is the government's moral obligation to carry the transformation through, since this is the only hope that society's sacrifices will not be in vain. Gyorgyi Nemeth and Peter Gyuricza report from the parliament building:

[Gyuricza] We follow, even in practice, the European norms of human rights in Hungary. Freedom of the press, religion, and conscience are guaranteed, and the self-government system of ethnic minorities has been set up, so Hungary is a republic in the true sense of the word, said Gyula Horn. Among the problems, the prime minister listed the fact that there are racist, nationalist, and occasionally fascist groups in Hungary, although their proportion is not greater than in the developed democracies. Economic crime is high and the black economy makes up 30 percent of GDP. We have achieved few results in tackling corruption.

One of the challenges the country is facing is privatization, the major stage of which will be completed by the end of 1997, said Gyula Horn. Some 1.5 million jobs have been lost and the country is greatly indebted. However, the results so far provide a basis for future development. The prime minister stressed the need for national understanding in order for further reforms and stabilization to take place:

[Begin Horn recording] Do not believe any demagogy which claims that everything can be solved here at once. This transformation is an extremely complicated, extremely difficult process, and it is a lot more painful and longer than the process of creating democratic institutions was, especially in the economic and social fields. [end recording]

According to the finance minister, Hungary needs at least twice as much economic development in the next few years than the West European countries, for example, Austria. This way, Hungary could sooner or later catch up with these countries. Lajos Bokros explained that, in his view, the measures taken so far point in this direction. Last year, exports increased by 20 percent, and at the same time, wage increases were held back. The finance minister finds it important that people should continue to learn and be trained, since the knowledge acquired ten years ago is outdated today. All in all, Lajos Bokros would like to see a change in direction of civilization [civilizacios iranyvaltas]:

[Begin Bokros recording] This stabilization has a very serious social price, cost, sacrifice, but, precisely because society is paying this price, we have an especially great moral obligation to make sure that this time these sacrifices are not in vain. [end recording]

Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs spoke of the country's euro-atlantic integration efforts. With the steps taken so far, Hungary has come closer to integration and has a good chance of being accepted in the first round of expansion, he said. All this is in harmony with the country's relations with its neighbors and with the minority issue. Laszlo Kovacs said Hungary has made it clear that we have no territorial claims, that the country recognizes the current borders, and that it wishes to grant minority rights in the spirit of the European norms and documents.

However, the situation of the [Hungarian ethnic] minorities [in neighboring countries] has worsened, steps to restrict their rights have been taken. Laszlo Kovacs said the following about this:

[Begin Kovacs recording] The response cannot be the withdrawal of relations. The response cannot be confrontation. The response can only be patient dialogue in which we firmly express our stand. The response can only be to seek the support of international organizations and forums, and to support the transformation of the ethnic Hungarians living beyond the border into proper civic communities. [end recording]

Hungary: FKGP Leader on Alliance With Opposition

LD1102222396 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2100 GMT 11 February 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The Independent Smallholders' Party [FKGP] takes a stand in favor of the Giczy-led Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP] among the opposition parties, although they have reservations about them, too.

Speaking at a rally in Szekesfehervar, FKGP Chairman Jozsef Torgyan said that his party was open to those who agreed with the party's national program, but the MDF was not among them.

According to Torgyan, the country's domestic political situation can be characterized by the emergence of a bipolar political life, where the determining forces are the FKGP on the right and the Hungarian Socialist Party on the left.

B-H: President Alija Izetbegovic Interviewed

LD1102151996 Sarajevo Televizija Bosne i Hercegovine in Serbo-Croatian 2135 GMT 10 Feb 96

[Interview with Bosnia-Herzegovina President Alija Izetbegovic by Kemal Muftic — place and date not given; recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Muftic] Mr. President, Bosnia-Herzegovina Radio-Television is launching its broadcasts by satellite. I do not know whether we will reach the stars, but I do know that we have traversed the road from a difficult period to one that shines ahead of us as a better one. One-half of Bosnia is in exile.

Let us start with the questions which will be of interest to our viewers and listeners abroad. What is your opinion on the return of our people to Bosnia?

[Izetbegovic] First of all, although we have not reached the stars it seems we have reached the satellite. Second, I do not think that one-half of our people are abroad. Luckily, the number is somewhat smaller. There are many displaced people within Bosnia-Herzegovina itself.

Speaking of return, if we are to be realistic, not all of them will return. There have been many exoduses in history, and past experience shows that not all return. We believe that a great majority of our people will return.

Polls conducted among the refugees and the frequency of their contacts show their great interest in Bosnia, and show that the feelings our people have for Bosnia are very strong

This is not the case in some other countries. They say an American does not find it difficult to pack and change his place of residence, to move some 2,000 kilometers. He may go to another country.

This feeling for the country, the feeling of being in a foreign place, pushes our people. The problem is to make it possible for them to return.

I believe that by now many would have returned were it not for the visa problems through Croatia. Croatia has erected a real barrier against the return of people, and it will last for a long time.

[Muftic] Different people left for different motives. Some were exiled, others ran away from the army. What shall we do with the draft dodgers?

[Izetbegovic] You see, the vast majority were expelled, forced to leave. There are also a number of refugees and runaways. Runaways are those who fled the horrors of war instead of staying here, perhaps joining the army, etc. As you know, we have granted amnesty to these people. The amnesty also included the Serbs. One part of it referred to our deserters. There were reactions among the soldiers — we knew there would be. They asked: Does it mean that we, too, should have fled, and returned today, and so forth? We really had no choice! It was absurd, incomprehensible, and amoral to grant amnesty to people who fired at us, and not to grant it to those who were not heroic and courageous enough to stay here and cope with the difficulties.

On the other hand, we are a small nation. There are too few of us. The people should come back. We have granted them legal equality. This does not mean equality in real terms. There will never be equality. Regardless of whether Bosnian people fought for Bosnia-Herzegovina here or escaped when things started to hot up, the differences will remain. If our authorities are in the least bit honest, and regardless of which party will win tomorrow, every Bosnian party which feels for Bosnia and has a Bosnian orientation will most certainly differentiate between the people who fought for Bosnia and those who were outside it in critical moments. However, we still want these people to return, we want to give them a chance.

[Muftic] There are a number of practical problems — how to employ all these people. The ministries in charge of refugees, both federal and republican, are dealing with this issue, which is perhaps the most important issue in our state. What is the difference in their tasks and what possibilities do you see for employing our people?

[Izetbegovic] First of all, let me say a bit more about these two groups of people — fighters and refugees. They will all come looking for a job. This is when injustice becomes unavoidable. It is a good thing to be aware of problems beforehand. We are aware of this injustice, which will arise because the people who were out of the country will not just return physically and psychologically healthy, but they will also bring with them a certain amount of money. Some will bring more, some less. Of course, in comparison, our fighters who were on the front lines, who could have been injured, who probably suffered mental ordeals in contact with the enemy, and whose pockets are now empty, will be in an unfair position.

This is why we should prepare a whole system of legal measures to neutralize this equality and give priority to the fighters. A law [words indistinct] in the assembly in two to three days' time which exempts the fighters from paying customs duties, and a law which would temporarily exempt the fighters from paying taxes if they were to engage in a private enterprise. A whole series of regulations are envisioned giving the fighters priority with regard to employment for instance, depending on when they joined the struggle. We will also allocate securities and shares to our fighters to provide them with starting capital for buying apartments, for obtaining shares in enterprises.

This whole process has been delayed. Frankly speaking, I am a bit angry. The government should have already dealt with this. There were problems, though, as to which model should be adopted. They could have issued shares and securities right away, but it turned out that these could be forged quite easily resulting in an excess on the market. Technology is so advanced today that a painter cannot tell his own work from a copy. We shall find another way, perhaps in the form of savings books, which would then be given to the soldiers. I think these measures would help a little to make them feel less disadvantaged compared to those arriving from the outside.

You mentioned the two ministries dealing with the refugees, the federal and the republican. As for how their work is divided, the Republican Ministry of Refugees is concerned with the conditions of the refugees still living in the diaspora, outside Bosnia, as well as conditions for their return. The federal ministry is concerned with their accommodation once they return, with finding work for them, ensuring a systematic return to avoid refugees returning in big and sudden waves, as our economy could not cope with it.

[Muftic] You mentioned problems linked with the return. These problems sometimes are of purely administrative nature, like the problems of our people crossing the territory of Croatia. It seems that things are improving a little after your meetings with President Tudjman and a Croatian delegation.

[Izetbegovic] I think the law is about to be adopted; there are a few formalities to be dealt with by the Croatian Assembly. We have managed to ensure that the law on the abolition of transit visas for Croatia is adopted concerning the refugees settling in the Federation.

[Muftic] And what about the people who are not from the Federation? What about the Krajina people from Banja Luka?

[Izetbegovic] We must go back to the conditions of the Dayton agreement. One of the good aspects of Dayton is that it gives the refugees fixed rights to return to their homes wherever they may be and to have their property returned to them or be given compensation. Of course, cynics can say it is only on paper. It is on paper, but it is very important it is on paper. You see, we do not yet have a real peace and already people are going to these areas, tens of thousands of people, and we are finding it difficult to stop them — we do this for their own security — and are trying to prevent them from going to Doboj, Modrica, etc. We are trying to prevent uncontrolled movements to avoid subsequent problems.

However, owing to this fixed right, they will be able to return, sooner or later. Of course, we expect people first to return to the territory of the Federation, where are authorities are in control. The process would then continue so as to involve the Serb entity, as it is called.

In connection with this, I would like to explain something. Here in Sarajevo we keep repeating that the Serbs should remain in their own homes, except those who have committed crimes. I must admit that some people have been pulling me by the sleeve and saying why should they stay. Let them go. We want the whole of Bosnia. If we want the whole of Bosnia, this is the only logical policy. On the other hand, there is a more practical and I could say slightly selfish reason. If all the Serbs leave Ilidza, Ilijas, Vogosca, etc. as far as a single Bosnia is concerned, the book will be closed. There will no longer be any return of our people to Foca, Modrica, Zvornik, Banja Luka. The process would be finished. In this way, we would like to ensure the right that we can say tomorrow — some Serbs are living here, not many, a lot of them seized our land, expelled our people, were involved in violence. They know very well what they did. The people who will remain will be those who do not have any skeletons in the cupboard. We can live with them. And we will have no problems with these people. But this gives us the right to say tomorrow — just as the Serbs can live in Ilidza, Vogosca, Ilijas, we must be able to live in Modrica. Our people must return there. Our people must return there. The world will support us in this and the other side will not be able to object. We have a clear political reason to proceed in this way.

[Muftic] You mentioned the problem of Sarajevo. Let us make a little digression. There is talk about Serb Sarajevo, about Serb parts of Sarajevo. Can you comment on that?

[Izetbegovic] Chetnik propaganda imposed this wrong practice. In all meetings with people from the outside, who of course do not have to know what the situation is like and often fall for this trick, I correct them because things are not like this.

Milosevic did not hand back those four municipalities without good reason. He knew well why he did it. All those four municipalities were not Serb municipalities, the Serbs did not have a majority in a single one of them, according to a (?direct) census, which is therefore reliable. The largest percent was in Ilijas for example, but even there they constituted less than a half, I think 45 percent. Non-Serb population, primarily Muslims and some Croats, accounted for 55 percent of the population. In Hadzici the majority was considerable: There was 26 percent Serbs and 74 percent non-Serbs. So, these are not Serb municipalities. Ilidza was not a Serb municipality either, with only 37 percent population, and so on.

So, Milosevic made that move wisely. He knew he could not defend that position in Sarajevo. So that is not Serb Sarajevo. That is Sarajevo which was mixed, perhaps more mixed in those parts than over here.

[Muftic] There is a paradox here. There is more talk about the people who should leave the houses, which they took by force, than about those who were expelled.

[Izetbegovic] Yes, this is precisely the point. We believe that a certain number of Serbs will stay there. Those Serbs who are living in their own homes will stay, of course, under the condition that they have not committed any crimes. In any event, there will be fewer of them than before the war, because some of them will leave.

I think I should explain this because there were conflicts about Serb police, which were to leave after 45 days, as we interpreted the agreement. According to Carl Bildt and his office, they did not have to leave. The Dayton Agreement was not very specific on this point and they took advantage of it, but this is not a tragic situation. A gradual takeover of control is under way, so that they will certainly leave on the 90th day, which means that on 19 March that area will be completely free.

In the meantime, the process of departure of those Serb families who moved into Muslim and Croat houses will continue. They cannot stay there.

[Muftic] Let us go back to the issue of the return to Bosnia of our people scattered throughout the world. That process is under way and will continue. The Dayton agreement provides for elections. Will our people living in Germany, Sweden, and elsewhere be able to take an active party in political life to make them feel that they are already part of Bosnia?

[Izetbegovic] In that respect they have exactly the same rights as citizens in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This is one of the good parts of the Dayton agreement, which has many bad parts. The agreement envisages the refugees' right to vote and to run as candidates in the municipalities of their origin. A person from Gacko or from Foca will be able to choose whether he or she wants to go there to vote. We will see what will happen in the next six months, the process is progressing quite fast. Perhaps we will introduce bus routes so people can go there to vote even if they do not return on a permanent basis. We suppose that some people will even return in the meantime. If they do not return, they will be able to vote here for the candidates in, let us say, Gacko.

But, what does the right to vote in — let us say — Visegrad, where we were in a majority, mean? Theoretically, we can win power in municipal authorities in Visegrad because if all residents of Visegrad vote — either in Visegrad, which is not very likely now, or if they vote in Sarajevo for the candidates in Visegrad, or if they vote for the candidates in Visegrad in Munich, Berlin, or wherever they live in Germany, Austria or any other country — we, as a majority people, will have our municipality there. Of course, the Chetniks could decide not to accept that, but under the Dayton agreement and international laws they would be introducing illegal authorities. They would have huge problems with that.

I must say — to make this comprehensible to the refugees — that the municipality of one's origin, in which a person was registered on voters' lists or in the 1991 census, is relevant in this respect.

[Muftic] We have recently had an opportunity to see the return of a group of people from Zepa. You have received the soldiers who have escaped to Serbia, then found themselves in Ireland. How do you interpret this? To go from Serbia to Ireland, and then back here?

[Izetbegovic] Before I answer your question, I would like to give some information. All the countries we have had contacts with — and these are mainly countries that are hosts to our refugees — Germany, Austria, Switzerland — have accepted to make it possible for our people to vote in the relevant countries — Germany, Austria, Switzerland — in our consular and diplomatic offices. This is one point.

The other point is that they have accepted the possibility to allow our refugees to come for this occasion to the country and vote without changing or jeopardizing their status in the process. We will see what we will be able to accomplish out of all this.

I mention this because the issue was controversial in Dayton. Many countries said that they did not know whether according to their laws a foreigner may vote in their country.

Thanks to the electoral commission here, that right has been secured. We have received confirmation that they will be able to vote.

[Muftic] [words indistinct] Ambassador Frowick?

[Izetbegovic] Yes. [Words indistinct] Ambassador Frowick. A refugee will be now able to vote in Germany, he will be able to come for a day, two, or three to his country to vote and to return without jeopardizing his status. I wanted to mention this before answering your question because there had been some talk that this could possibly have some repercussions on his status.

You ask about Zepa. It is within the group of questions relating to refugees. They are our soldiers who at the end of July in the critical moment when they were surrounded managed to fight their way through over the River Drina, to cross to the other side where the Serb authorities arrested them.

In Serbia they were placed in two sites and they lived under very difficult conditions. We have heard about those conditions and a few days ago I received a group of 14 men who have lived through this odyssey. They have crossed the Drina, were captured, interned in a camp, transferred to another one. Then one day people from the UNHCR and the International Committee of the Red Cross came and offered them to go abroad.

It was at the time of Dayton — between Dayton and Paris, after the Dayton agreement. They offered for them to go.

There is a very sad and ugly twist to this. They told them that they could go anywhere but to Bosnia. I asked the people what they did... [changes thought] Some time earlier I had contact with a group that was transferred to Australia; there was exactly 103 of them. All of a sudden they, believe it or not, found themselves in Australia. They entered the plane and were transferred there.

[Muftic] Their families are in Bosnia...

[Izetbegovic, interrupting] All those people are from Zepa. There are several people from Srebrenica who after the tragedy of Srebrenica had managed to break through toward Zepa. We learned later that a certain number of men were transferred to Ireland, some of them — 40 to 50 — to the United States, a certain number to Denmark.

So, there were all together, if I remember rightly, 792 of them on the other side [of the Drina River] who were captured and interned in the two camps in Serbia.

I have talked to Milosevic in Dayton about these people. He said that he would release them the moment the Dayton agreement was signed. Unfortunately, he has not kept the promise. Some foreign powers then interfered, probably with his knowledge. They offered for the people to go because he wanted to remove that hot potato. He did not want them to return to Bosnia. He either did not want them to return or the ones here, Karadzic and company, objected, Karadzic and company.

I do not know what the catch was, but those two organizations got in touch with our people and offered for them to sign a form saying that they accept going to Australia, Denmark, and so forth. When they insisted they wanted to go to Bosnia, they said: You may choose any of the countries listed here, but not Bosnia.

Some objected, but the majority accepted and signed with the logic that it is important to get out of Serbia, and once I find myself in America, in Denmark, Ireland, or Australia, I will return. And they are absolutely right.

The group from Ireland has just returned — they came back three, four days ago. I think that our television recorded the meeting. They told me about the conditions in which they had lived and about the fate of others. Their stories show that over half of the 720 men, over 400 men are still in Serbia. They have not gone to other countries.

Every day we take measures to bring them back here. We are not succeeding because Serbia then blackmails for other unacceptable concessions. We have also taken measures for those in Australia to return. Around 85 or 86 have signed and only technical issues remain. A plane has to be found, it is far and the journey is expensive.

[Muftic] Yes, it is interesting to note that they had no problems obtaining visas; they were accepted immediately...

[Izetbegovic, interrupting] If the Bosnians are to be scattered all over the world, then many powers — not all of them, but some — are extremely cooperative in dispersing Bosnians far away from their homeland.

Nevertheless, we will bring them back — with the help of God — and I expect this group of people from Australia to return within the next 15 to 20 days.

[Muftic] This desire to return is a reality; this became evident...

[Izetbegovic, interrupting] They were even told they could not return to Bosnia, because they had been declared deserters... [pauses] The last conversation I had with the people from Zepa before they destroyed that equipment, when they wanted to pull out, the last conversation I had with (?Mihaljevic) and Palic — we never found out what happened to them — was this: No matter what happens, you are heroes today. This was recorded on tape. Nevertheless, they were told that we view such people as deserters. In fact, we see them as veritable heroes.

[Muftic] It is precisely owing to the best sons of this country that we are having this conversation today; this is the reality of every war — 1945 and 1995 — 50 years since the victory over fascism.

Did we achieve victory in 1995, is the Dayton agreement a victory, is this peace — such as it is — a victory?

[Izetbegovic] It is certainly not a military victory; a moral victory — yes; a political victory — yes; but not a military victory, such a victory has eluded us.

You see, this question is frequently asked. When people ask it, they have in mind the time when we were gaining momentum; in July, through August and September, ending with the cease-fire in October.

We could have defeated the Chetniks, if we look at the Bosnian context...

[Muftic, interrupting] Thanks to our zeal and determination...

[Izetbegovic] If we look at our zeal and if we look at them, us and them. We could have defeated them completely. They would have been beaten within the next two to three months; they would have been routed, provided we look at things within a Bosnian context. But we could not have won in a global context, in the context of the world as it is today.

In other words, you have to view things in the isolated context of Bosnia-Herzegovina; our superiority was such... [pauses] Their disarray, their sagging morale, especially following those blows, we had the upper hand; we could have defeated them. But the world did not allow this to happen.

[Muftic] Yes, this pressure exerted by the world, the Dayton agreement shows...

[Izetbegovic, interrupting] I should explain something here. I cannot blame the world for that either; the world had some kind of a logic in this. The world did not exactly want to see a victorious Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the Serbs defeated. This simply did not fit a general pattern.

But there was a more practical aspect; namely, we would not have been greatly perturbed by the exodus that would follow — how the Serbs would react to, for instance, the fall of Banja Luka. The most probable scenario would have been that tens — perhaps hundreds — of thousands would have taken the [Brcko] corridor to Serbia.

I discussed this with many people and I know how they saw the situation. They reasoned like this: A general exodus would ensue, waves of refugees would inundate Serbia, authority in Serbia would be destabilized, Milosevic would be toppled, the generals would take over, these generals — together with those generals in Russia — would send four to five divisions to Bosnia, the situation would get out of control. I believe the world feared such a scenario.

I also believe that such reasoning was not totally mistaken. Namely — since I have been taking part in the writing of history, so to speak, as we are all taking part in it in some way — I became convinced on many occasions that events are beyond our control, that it is difficult to control the course of history; it is difficult to determine what will happen.

Take the latest events here as an example — we arrested a general who arrived on our territory completely illegally. We arrest gun runners on our own territory; we arrest war criminals; and what happens? The entire peace process grinds to a halt and we cannot tell what will happen. Simultaneously, we have the drama in Mostar. Who can control all that? Who can control the coordination of opponents in the Serb camp and in the other camp, their coordination against Bosnia [as heard]?.

Sometimes things just slip out of your hands. People are mistaken when they think that some great men... [pauses] We, of course, cannot exert any tangible influence on the course of events here because there are other forces at work.

But the great men of America and Russia cannot control things either; they are afraid of certain processes which can no longer be kept under control. Especially if you take into account that Russia today still has some 10,000 nuclear bombs which could fall into the hands of madmen.

[Muftic] There are some bizarre coincidences between Sarajevo and Mostar; the suburbs and detentions of generals suddenly disrupt the process. Statements are being made in Zagreb in connection with Mostar.

[Izetbegovic] If there were no problems in Mostar, the Serbs would not have made this move. They have made this move to help the extremists in Mostar in undermining Bosnia and Herzegovina.

[Muftic] Do you think they do not care about...

[Izetbegovic, interrupting] The situation is clear. It does not even have to an outright deal. But the coincidence is not accidental. People make moves with the aim of making our position more difficult.

This in Mostar. I said clearly to Mr. Shalikashvilli yesterday and also in the letter published...

[Muftic, interrupting] In the letter to Mrs....

[Izetbegovic, interrupting] Mrs. Agnelli. I said that the problem in Mostar is one of democracy. It is not a problem of borders. Our people must know that the problem is not one of borders. Who in Sarajevo knows where the municipal borders are? And why are the borders in Mostar important and not here?

Because the state of people who live in the center and the Stari grad [Sarajevo municipalities], at least in the political sense and in all other sense, is almost the same. There it is not. It is a problem there.

[Muftic] Here, only the tax officals know.

[Izetbegovic] Yes, only the tax officials. There, it is a problem of freedom and non-freedom. If you are on this side of the line, you have some rights. You can bury your dead father in a religious ceremony. There, you cannot do that. That is why there is the problem of those lines, of those wretched municipal lines.

In other words, it is the problem of freedoms. If the basic four freedoms were proclaimed in Mostar; freedom of movement so one can cross safely from west to east Mostar; freedom of religion, so one can do in west Mostar... [changes thought] Because a Catholic can celebrate Christmas in east Mostar without any problems. But the Muslim cannot celebrate Bayram there [in western Mostar], he cannot at present mark Ramadan, not without problems.

This is naturally a shameful thing. It is shameful not only for the people down there, but it is also a shameful scar on the face of today's humanity. There exists a place where the basic human right, the right to religion, is not respected. There a Muslim cannot bury his father in a religious ceremony; a hodja cannot come there. Let that right be respected. There is no way any other political party except the HDZ [Croat Democratic Union] could.

[Muftic] Mr. Koschnick and the EU believe that this cannot be tolerated, and that such behavior must stop.

[Izetbegovic] Of course it must stop, because it is anachronistic, contrary to the whole course of world history, so to say. This is a retrograde attitude that cannot continue. I told this to the Croats when we had a meeting here: Gentlemen, this cannot go on, stop it. This can continue for another year or two, but such a situation cannot go on forever. Both you and Milosevic and everyone in the world who denies human rights will have to accept them. West Mostar has become an example of the non-observance of basic human rights, and that is the problem.

[Muftic] Mr. President, if you do not mind, let us go back briefly to the current political events. Recently Bosnia has two governments: the republican and the federal one. It has two prime ministers: [Hasan] Muratovic and [Izudin] Kapetanovic. What is the difference between these two governments, and the earlier government?

[Izetbegovic] Speaking in the broadest terms, I think that these two governments have the task, which was reflected in the programs they presented... [changes thought] I think they will adopt a more practical approach. The previous government used to deal too much with high politics, it used to spend too much time on high politics. [Word indistinct] general issues. High politics is very important, but people cannot live off it. We need someone who will be very concrete, without relying on people who will come later, without speaking about projects that will never be realized. We need someone who will solve things one by one: open a shop, restart production in a small factory. These things have to be fought for day by day, to find money.

[Muftic] Now we are talking about this, how many of those millions we heard so much about are coming from abroad?

[Izetbegovic] I recently said very clearly: not a single million of all the huge amounts we have been promised for the reconstruction of Bosnia has arrived. We are told every day that allegedly the first $100 million will come now, then some $500 million by May. This would be a huge injection of cash, but we have not seen anything yet.

What I am trying to say is that this government has the task — if it can do it, and that will be its big test — to ensure wages are paid to the people working in the health service, in education; even minimal wages, just to enable people to make ends meet, to live very modestly. The government must increase the pensions that are today in the region of 12, 13, or 15 German marks [DM] to be around DM30, 40 or even 50. This will be the government's test. When they come to submit reports to us, they do not need to speak about high politics. They do not need to speak to us about democracy. The political bodies — the assembly, the presidency, the parliament especially — should deal with these issues. The government needs to tell us things such as: We ensured the return of so many refugees, we opened so many [word indistinct] generates so much electricity, produced so many tonnes of coal, and so on.

[Muftic] There are no prominent politicians in this government from among the so-called opposition. What can you tell us about the capabilities of our ministers; what can we promise the people?

[Izetbegovic] Above all, as far as the opposition is concerned, its members were in not bending over backward to get government posts, and this was not a great opportunity for them. The party currently in power in Bosnia can esily lose the elections, not because it didn't do its job well, but because it is faced with enormous problems. The opposition parties were not exactly competing to get in the government. Even if we had offered it to them I think they would have rejected it. It is easier for them to observe things from the background and rap over their knuckles.

[Muftic] Can this be linked with the resignation of Prime Minister Silajdzic?

[Izetbegovic] I wouldn't like to comment on this issue. But he will find it easier to leave in this way. The opposition parties never talk about what has been done, they only talk about what hasn't been done, what should have been done. There is always more of that. For instance, have a look at what was done in Sarajevo in the past three to four months. No one ever mentions this. Sarajevo has come to life. Trams are working, cars are working, masses of people are in the streets, no one is dying of hunger, although there are serious problems. But one always finds something; e.g. a road is badly repaired somewhere and the work of the authorities is questioned, there are instances of theft of humanitarian aid and they are immediately blown out of proportion. Consequently, the opposition has chosen a much easier way — not to be in power on the eve of the elections. Waves of refugees are arriving — they need to be employed, waves of demobilized soldiers are arriving — they too need to have jobs and to have their status regulated. The problem of financing the army that numbered over 200,000 members needs to be solved.

All these problems need to be solved, privatization needs to be carried out. In so doing we must try not to make hundreds of unfair decisions. People make unfair decisions every day. All this will be attributed to the ruling party, of course, while the opposition parties will remain intact. In their view, none of this would happen if they were in power.

That's why I think they are nonexistent. Either they are nonexistent or they are not prepared to accept this, and I think they made a wise decision. In fact, from the political point of view it is completely logical.

[Muftic] While we are discussing the government, what about the republican Foreign Ministry, which is in charge of foreign affairs in the country? The minister is Dr. Prlic.

[Izetbegovic] Yes. Mr. Jadranko Prlic took up the position of foreign minister, replacing Mr. Muhamed Sacirbegovic. Of course, this fueled speculations that this will lead to a change in foreign policy. I do not think there will be any changes. The main guidelines of foreign policy, the decision whether to take any big steps or not, is in the hands of the presidency, of the state. The foreign minister only implements this policy. Mr. Prlic knows this. We held talks a few days ago and he asked to be given instructions from the presidency. I am in daily contact with him concerning certain issues. I do not think that Bosnia-Herzegovina's foreign policy will change, as long as the current presidency is in power.

[Muftic] The question of democracy is constantly being raised, especially in a country that has gone through war. I understand that you will not comment again on Prime Minister Silajdzic's resignation, as you have commented on it before. The issue of democracy. Is there democracy in Bosnia?

[Izetbegovic] To tell you the truth, I do not know why Silajdzic resigned. To this day I do not know his true, personal reason, seeing that he made various statements about it. I hear that he will set up a new political party. I wish him good luck.

One of the reasons he stated was insufficient democracy. He (?feared) for democracy in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Unfortunately, foreign media took this up and the most venomous ones exploited it against us. They used this argument against Bosnia-Herzegovina, because if the former prime minister says there is no democracy, then there is not any.

But our objective critics — both in the country and abroad — recognize that there is democracy, except for those who are biased, who work for someone else. After all, the facts are there. Can one say that there is no democracy in a country in which so many newspapers, which are not government papers, are published? Ninety-five percent of the newspapers are completely independent. You can see that from their articles. I think that around 160 to 170 newspapers are registered in Bosnia-Herzegovina. They do not need permission to be published. There are 40 radio and television stations, only one of which is under state control.

[Muftic] I would never ask the head of state about democracy. I would prefer to ask people in the street about it. I think that is the best way of judging the level of democracy in a country.

[Izetbegovic] Yes, but these are parameters by which democracy is measured: whether one is held responsible for one's statements, whether there is freedom of speech, whether journalists can write what they want without suffering any consequences.

[Muftic] They cannot. Two of our journalists, or rather photographers, were arrested in Grbavica yesterday, despite the Dayton agreement.

[Izetbegovic] So, this is what you are aiming at. There is democracy — in relative terms, because democracy is never perfect — in the part of Bosnia-Herzegovina controlled by the army. But there is no democracy in areas not under the army's control. I have just spoken about the situation in Mostar. Unfortunately, the situation is not much better in the areas controlled by the Croat Defense Council [HVO].

[Muftic] Five hundred meters from here, in Grbavica, two photographers were arrested yesterday.

[Izetbegovic] Yes, that illustrates the state of democracy in that part of Bosnia-Herzegovina. But I hear there are some processes there as well, especially in the western part of Bosnia-Herzegovina, where it seems that political parties are finally being set up after a long time. These parties are not on Karadzic's line. This is a positive phenomenon.

I recently read the response of one of these parties to the question that splits Karadzic and the others: Can people live together in Bosnia-Herzegovina? The party said: Of course we can, Bosnia is our homeland. One of those parties up there said this in the middle of Banja Luka. This shows that certain changes are taking place there.

[Muftic] Let's go back a bit. We were talking about peace and demobilization. What is the future of our soldiers leaving the army? How do you see the defense of this country? Yesterday Dr. Prlic received a letter from NATO Secretary General Solana, expressing hope that Bosnia will one day join the Partnership for Peace. Our army has proved our value.

[Izetbegovic] This question should be left for a special program. It is very important. It deals with defense and the army and the status of demobilized soldiers. Of course, there is another question — what after Dayton? Let's try and answer the question in general outlines given such a short time. First of all, after Dayton the Implementation Force [IFOR] troops will leave, and people are concerned about what will happen. A number of measures have been envisaged in this respect. It is another matter how effective they will be. The question is about the balance of armament. According to the Dayton agreement, there must be a regional balance of armament, arranged between Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Croatia, at the 5:2:2 ratio. For instance, if Serbia has five guns, Bosnia has two, Croatia also has two. The same goes for planes, tanks, and so on, or, if you wish, 70:30:30. That is the envisaged balance.

Serbia would be the starting criterium. It should reduce its armament to 70 percent of what it now has. Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia would go from there keeping to the 5:2:2 ratio.

As for Bosnia-Herzegovina as a whole, there should be a 2:1 ration between the federation and the Serb entity. We should have twice as many arms, soldiers, equipment, and so forth, as the Serb entity. This proportion was fixed by the Dayton agreement. If for some reason this is not achieved, the OSCE will step in. After all, the OSCE managed to balance the arms of the Soviet Union and Europe in general. It has the instruments and ways to achieve this. This much about the question — what after Dayton. Let me just add that we intend to create a strong army here. Not a big army, but one that will be well equipped and well trained. You have already had reports in this connection. Talks are under way at the moment.

[Muftic] I would like to know something more on the fate of our demobilized men. To what extent can the state help them to continue their life as citizens capable of supporting their families?

[Izetbegovic] First of all, within the army itself. I must add a couple of sentences. Our policy is that all our famous units remain as the core of that army. That is 7th [Corps], 17th Krajina, 108th Brcko, better not to mention them by name, because I may omit some. But all our famous units that will form the army backbone should remain.

Second, all the soldiers who have distinguished themselves during the war should stay in the army, irrespective of other prevailing criteria. Some may fall under the age criterium, because the rule says the soldiers should be under 32 years of age. This would not be strictly observed. The rule would stipulate 31 or 32 years. But if one of our famous fighters who has been in battles and who is 37 or 38 would wish to stay, of course he will be able to remain. I do believe that their standard of living should remain at the level it would be at in civilian life with their abilities plus some bonuses for conditions specific for army life. So, their standard of living would be somewhat higher than in civilian life because the conditions in the army are harder.

There is a great number of demobilized soldiers. Our view is that not all the demobilized soldiers should become ordinary civilians at the same moment, but they may form the reserve army and enjoy minimal soldiers' rights. In this way a soldier would not find himself all of a sudden out in the street. He could be transferred to the so-called reserve echelon. He would enjoy a certain status. He would be a soldier, although not living in the barracks and without military obligations. But he would enjoy the soldier status. His status would allow him to enjoy certain material advantages, he would have a certain income from the army.

The Defense Ministry is working on a program that would finally define that status and that would give priority to the soldiers who have fought over the ones who have not fought. The privileges would be applied in the sphere of customs, taxes, maybe in the area of private business. In the area of employment preference should be given to these people. Plus, of course, welfare funds should exist that would guarantee a minimum for soldiers who have not been able to find employment.

[Muftic] Does the formation of a modern army mean that all those who were in the army will hang up their guns? Or would your statement made some time ago how everyone should have their gun still be valid?

[Izetbegovic] To this I have to say God forbid. Never again will we allow ourselves to be taken by surprise. In that respect this year of IFOR is an exception. A special regime is in place for armed civilians. IFOR could make some problems for them. But I think that every citizen will be armed in order to be able to defend himself. Because we do not know what [pauses]. This army could react on the second, third day. Especially the people who live in border regions where there are in direct contact with those who had once attacked them.

I believe we will have to... [changes thought] It is our concept of the so- called territorial defense — not one kind only.

[Muftic] Of the armed people, so we cannot be taken by surprise.

[Izetbegovic] Of the armed people. I do not think we will leave our citizens without arms.

[Muftic] You mentioned Visegrad when we were talking about elections. Srebrenica is near Visegrad. You have seen the dissatisfaction of women, mothers, and children from Srebrenica and their immeasurable tragedy. You received a group of those people. We have seen the attitude of the international public. That tragedy was not adequately covered by the media in the West. What else can we do to calm this justified dissatisfaction of people with what they have suffered?

[Izetbegovic] I am planning to go visit the women of Podrinje [the basin of the river Drina in eastern Bosnia]. I will discuss this issue with them, or rather, I will address that issue. Briefly, [words indistinct] and the time is probably running out, I can just say that we will do everything necessary to find out the truth about people, the truth about those who are still alive in order to ensure their release, the truth about the dead in order to bury them in a dignified way, to know where their graves are, and of course, the truth about their butchers to bring them before justice. I think this is the basic aim we should aspire toward.

What do we need to do to achieve this? It is much more difficult to answer that question. The graves in Srebrenica need to be investigated. We are trying to persuade IFOR to organize a trip of one or two busloads of women to Srebrenica to go to those places, although I do not think they will come back satisfied, that they will find anything. They will certainly not find any living people. I think that we will have to search further. Perhaps we should set up a special department to deal with the residents of Srebrenica, with the humanitarian aspects of the problem, with the search for people, with children from Srebrenica.

[Muftic] This is perhaps the state's greatest task to...

[Izetbegovic, interrupting] If we try a bit harder we can provide scholarships for all the children from Srebrenica. Srebrenica is in fact the deepest wound of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Muftic] Mr. President, thank you very much. We will have to finish on this somber note.

[Izetbegovic] Let me just, before we finish, greet our people in exile. I would like to tell them that we are thinking about them, that Bosnia's doors are open to them, and that we will share whatever we have here with them when they come back.

I would also like to take the opportunity of one of my rare appearances on the television, actually my first one since peace has been restored, to pay tribute to our soldiers and our army for what they have done. Unfortunately, this has never been done officially. We will have to do it in an official way too. The army will acquire a new role now, but we must put a full stop on the previous period and say: the army has done this and that. I would like to greet our soldiers and ask them to accept my congratulations for what they have done. I would just like to add that without the army and without the soldiers the whole of Bosnia would be one big Srebrenica. Thank you.

[Muftic] Thank you.

B-H: Kasagic Denies Bosnian Serb Boycott of IFOR

AU0902202696 Paris AFP in English
1719 GMT 9 Feb 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Feb 9 (AFP) — Bosnian Serbs will continue talking to NATO commanders, a senior political figure told Serb radio Friday [9 February] in an apparent rebuff to hardline military chiefs who have cut links with the alliance.

"We will continue talks with Bildt's office and with IFOR (NATO's peace Implementation Force)," Bosnian

Serb prime minister Rajko Kasagic said on Serb Pale radio.

Carl Bildt is the international chief responsible for civilian affairs relating to Bosnia's complex peace plan.

On Thursday, Bosnian Serb military chief General Ratko Mladic ordered his officers to break off all relations with the NATO-led force in protest at the arrests of eight Serb soldiers by the Bosnian Government police. Two of the men are on the International War Crimes Tribunal's list of suspected war criminals.

Kasagic however, said talks with the Moslem-Croat federation [Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation] "cannot continue further ... until our officers and detainees are freed."

In what he described as an "ominous" sign, Lt General Sir Michael Walker, the commander of NATO ground forces in Bosnia, said Friday that there had been no high level contacts with the Bosnian Serbs.

NATO officials said late Friday they were unaware of Kasagic's remarks. However, IFOR spokesman Major Peter Bullock commented if the report was accurate: "That is good news."

B-H: Kasagic: Talks With Bildt, IFOR To Continue

AU1002151896 Banja Luka Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 9 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] With relation to the decision of the Government of the Serb Republic to break off any contact with the Muslim-Croat Federation because of the arrest of Serb officers and soldiers, the prime minister of the Serb Republic, Mr. Rajko Kasagic, issued the following statement:

[Begin Kasagic recording] I think that [words indistinct] has culminated. We decided to warn them on time, before the relations escalate [as heard], [words indistinct] the Dayton accord.

We think that our decision to freeze relations with the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation is aimed toward peace, rather than toward causing unrest. I think that we need to point out to them in a timely manner that (?they need to behave differently).

Mr. Bildt is the UN's envoy for the implementation of the accord. His obligation is to [words indistinct]. We already had two joint meetings with Mr. Bildt's office representatives, and one meeting with the representatives of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation. Our obligation is to coordinate the Statute of the Serb Republic with the Statute of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which [words indistinct] by 14 March. Our obligation is to elect people to joint bodies, as anticipated by the Dayton accord. One representative should be part of the Committee for (?Public) [word indistinct] of Bosnia-Herzegovina, two should be part of the Committee for the Protection of Human Rights, and two part of the Committee for Refugees and Displaced Persons. The deadline for appointing these people is 14 March, and Mr. Bildt is obliged to [words indistinct] the Dayton accord and IFOR [words indistinct] the committee that is to work on (?resolutions and connections) in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

He sent me a memo on that, and I think that we will meet on Thursday [15 February], though he asked that we meet in Monday. We (?need) time, and we will continue talks with Mr. Bildt's office and with IFOR, but we cannot continue talks with the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation until they release the imprisoned persons (?in peace). [end recording]

B-H: RS Condemns Serbs' Arrest; Cooperation To Continue

LD1002201096 Pale Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 1930 GMT 10 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] In connection with the arrest of the senior officers of the Serb Republic army, the government of the Serb Republic held an emergency session this evening at which it condemned this criminal act by the Muslim authorities in Sarajevo.

The kidnapping of General Djukic and the other Serb army officers is an attack on the Dayton peace agreement. However, the incident must not stand in the way of cooperation between the Serb Republic and IFOR [Implementation Force]. Cooperation will continue for the purpose of achieving a just peace, although the problems resulting from the arrest of the general and the officers of the Serb Republic army are a flagrant violation of the Dayton agreement.

The Serb Republic government insists that the international community should obtain the release of the imprisoned officers and warn the government in Sarajevo not to violate the provisions of the Dayton Agreement.

B-H: Karadzic 'Has Disowned' Mladic Decision on IFOR

AU1102213396 Paris AFP in English 2037 GMT 11 Feb 96

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Pale, Bosnia-Hercegovina, Feb 11 (AFP) — Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic has disowned a decision by his military commander Ratko Mladic to sever links with NATO peacekeepers, a senior Serb official said Sunday.

Rajko Kasagic, prime minister of the breakaway Serb republic, said "President Kradzic has warned the army chief of staff that he was not in a position to take such a decision."

Speaking to reporters following a meeting of the Serbs' self-styled government, he added: "I maintain that (the peace Implementation Force) IFOR is a peacekeeping force and that there is no reason to interrupt our cooperation with it," Kasagic said.

"Therefore the government is continuing to cooperate with IFOR and the UN," Kasagic said. "If the chief of staff was giving out different information, that is contrary to our constitution."

Mladic on Thursday ordered the Serb Republic's army to break off all contact with the NATO-led IFOR, following the arrest of two senior Serb officers suspected of war-crimes by Bosnian police.

US mediator Richard Holbrooke, in the Bosnian capital Sunday, said the move by Mladic was "the most serious challenge" yet to the faltering Bosnia peace accords he brokered.

Describing the military leader's decision as a "slight misunderstanding," Kasagic said he hoped it would be "soon resolved" and that, as far as Karadzic was concerned, he had "probably already overcome it today (Sunday)." [passage omitted]

B-H: Karadzic: Serbs Do Not Trust IFOR After Arrests

LD1002233896 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2241 GMT 10 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 10 Feb (SRNA) — Serb Republic President Radovan Karadzic has warned that the arrest of Serb officers and their aides in Sarajevo was equivalent to a resumption of hostilities and that the Muslim government was impudent.

According to Karadzic, IFOR [Implementation Force] lost its credibility after this Muslim action, because the Serbs do not believe in it as they believed before the incident.

Karadzic stressed that the Serb side will not take revenge and arrest Muslims if they were not terrorists.

Taking part in the "Ask the President" program, broadcast by Serb TV's Banja Luka studio, Karadzic reiterated that the Serb Republic had been recognized as an entity-state, and pointed out that it had its own independent supreme, executive, and legislative authorities.

The international community partitioned Bosnia in order to stop the war, but there still exist tendencies for it to be reunited, said the president, adding that in case it was not feasible, the international institutions would accept its partition, that is a bloodless parting.

Dr. Karadzic said that he, the state leadership of the Serb Republic, and the Serb Democratic Party are the targets of attack of those who wish to wipe out the present level of the republic statehood, and reiterated his resolute decision in preventing all attempts of parties who wish to undermine its independence.

The postponing of the lifting of sanctions against the Serb Republic, which should have been lifted on 10 February, has no justification and represents a violation of the Dayton Agreement, Dr. Karadzic said, adding that the Serb Republic is expecting help from the FRY, Russia, and Greece.

Speaking of the humanitarian situation and the problem of refugees, the president repeated that everything will be done to provide accommodation for displaced persons by spring.

According to Dr. Karadzic, the refugees, pensioners, disabled, families of killed fighters, and active fighters are the categories of society whose problems must be given priority treatment.

B-H: Karadzic Says Serbs Would Never Shoot at IFOR

AU1202114496 Bad Vilbel VESTI in Serbo-Croatian 11 Feb 96 p 5

[Unattributed report: "IFOR Is Impudent and Is Not Behaving in Line With Its Mandate"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The IFOR [Implementation Force] is behaving impudently and often not in line with its mandate. This was stated by Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic [RS].

Speaking at the session of the Municipal Committee of the SDS [Serbian Democratic Party] in Banja Luka, he explained that this was "established during the arrest of Serb General Djukic and another 10 members of the RS Army."

"We will put up with their impudence. We would never shoot at these children. We will wait one year until they go home. We will then have our state and this is worth the sacrifice," Karadzic said.

By arresting the Serb officers in Sarajevo, the Muslims have slapped the peace forces and the creators of the Dayton agreement hard, proving in this way that they are not almighty, but rather that they are partial, Karadzic said. In this way the Muslims have shown clearly that they neither respect IFOR nor the agreement, considering that they flagrantly violated the key provision on the freedom of movement, while IFOR, who is supposed to protect this right, has accepted the state of helplessness and humiliation, Karadzic said.

Stressing that the Muslims are also well ware of that, he said that one of the arrested, Lieutenant General Djordje Djukic has never taken part in combat operations, but was an officer in charge of rear area issues, that is, supplies for the RS Army.

Commenting on the past four-year period and the war, Karadzic stressed that "the greatest value of the struggle of the Serb people is the Serb Republic that was achieved during the war." "Aware of the strength of the ruling power," Karadzic continued, "many people in our ranks and state, which we have created, today want to find new Abdices and Silajdzices, who have turned their back on their own parties in the interest of the international community. They have, however, not succeeded, nor will they succeed in it."

Speaking about the Serb Sarajevo, Karadzic said that the Serbs should stay there as the "struggle for the Serb Sarajevo will continue with political means."

[Box, p 5]

Gvero Was Poisoning Soldiers' Souls

At the SDS session, a question was raised as to why General Milan Gvero, assistant commander of the General Staff — who along with other officers was relieved of his duties by the Bosnian Serb assembly last year — is not referred to by the media as the "retired general."

Last year, the parliament had four high-ranking officers relieved of their duty, but the military leadership of the Bosnian Serbs did not accept that decision.

Karadzic said that "all fighters are clearly on our (the ruling party and the leadership)" side, and accused General Gvero, assistant commander of the General Staff of the Bosnian Serb forces, of "poisoning the souls" of the Serb soldiers via a radio station that he has founded.

B-H: Karadzic: Arrest of Serbs 'Heavy Blow' to IFOR

LD0902201096 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1826 GMT 9 Feb 96

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Banja Luka, Feb. 9 (TANJUG) — By arresting Bosnian Serb officers in Sarajevo, Muslims have dealt a heavy blow to the Bosnia peace Implementation Force (IFOR) and architects of the Dayton Agreement, Bosnian Serb President Radovan Karadzic said on Friday [9 February].

Speaking at a session of the municipal council of the Serbian Democratic Party in the northwestern Bosnian Serb city of Banja Luka, Karadzic said that Muslims had clearly shown that they did not observe either IFOR or the agreement, since they had flagrantly violated its key provision on the freedom of movement.

IFOR, which has to protect this right, has accepted the position of impotence and humiliation, he said.

Karadzic said that one of the arrested, Lieutenant General Djordje Djukic had never participated in combat operations. Djukic was in charge of logistic issues in the Bosnian Serb Army, he added.

B-H: Karadzic: Serbs Will Not Conduct 'Revenge Arrests'

LD1002133696 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1134 GMT 10 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 10 Feb (TANJUG) — Dr. Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic, has said the arrest of Serb army officers by Muslims was an act of renewal of hostilities, and warned that it could affect the trust of the Serbs in IFOR [Implementation Force].

In his statement on 9 February for Serb TV, studio Banja Luka, Karadzic stressed that those guaranteeing peace in Bosnia should consider what such actions might mean.

"We will not arrest Muslims, except for the terrorists sneaking through our territory again, and even in this case we will strictly respect legal procedures. There will be no revenge arrests of Croats and Muslims, because we do not want to do anything to worsen the situation," the president of the Serb Republic said.

Karadzic repeated that the arrested General Djordje Djukic was an officer operating in the rear who had never taken part in active combat, which made the war crimes' accusations against him arbitrary and malicious.

B-H: Serbs Urge Hague To Rule on Arrest of Officers

LD1002131196 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1233 GMT 10 Feb 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Feb. 10 (TANJUG) — The international criminal tribunal in The Hague should state on Saturday whether two ranking officers of the Bosnian Serbs' Republika Srpska (RS) and their associates have been indicted for war crimes, the RS army information section said.

The Sarajevo Moslem government did not present its charges to the tribunal until 11 a.m. on February 7, when Gen. Djordje Djukic, Col. Aleksa Krsmanovic and their associates were handed over to the Bosnia peace Implementation Force (IFOR) and the tribunal, said a statement issued by the information section.

The RS army command stresses that a preliminary procedure must be completed within three days, which means that the time and day by which this must be done is 11 a.m. on Saturday, the statement said.

Gen. Djukic, Col. Krsmanovic and their associates were arrested on the route linking Sarajevo's Serb districts of Lukavica and Ilidza on January 30, while they were on their way to meet with IFOR officials.

They were arrested by the Sarajevo Moslem government police in the IFOR zone of responsibility on a suspicion that they were war criminals.

Djukic and Krsmanovic were not armed, they were travelling in a passenger car and were not wearing uniforms.

Until the time of his arrest, Djukic's name was not on any of the lists of war crimes suspects. He spent the entire war doing logistic tasks and did not directly take part in the fighting.

B-H: Serb Army Demands Release of War Crime Suspects

LD1002132096 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1153 GMT 10 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 10 Feb (SRNA) — The information service of the HQS of the Serb Republic Army has issued a statement demanding that the court of The Hague release Serb General Djordje Djukic and his colleagues.

The statement recalls that "Gen. Djukic, Colonel Aleksa Krsmanovic, and other members of the Serb Republic Army were arrested on 30 January," and says that "within three days the initial proceedings should have been concluded and the case passed on to the competent prosecutor and the investigating judge."

"At the same time we inform the world, and the public at home, that an international 'ad hoc' court took charge of the accused and the case at 1100 on 7 February, and it was obliged to inform the public of its decision by the same time on 10 February," the information service of the Serb Republic Army headquarters says.

It adds: "The Hague prosecutor Goldstone and Muslim judiciary bodies in Sarajevo have for three days now been locked in misunderstandings and rows about inventing a case against Gen. Djukic, Col. Krsmanovic, and other Serb Republic army members."

"Whatever charges Muslim prosecutors and judges come up with, Goldstone finds them insufficiently convincing. A dozen versions of 'an indictment' have so far been drafted, and Goldstone is nervously searching for new and stronger 'evidence' day and night," the statement says.

It says that "during the process of inventing the charges some Muslim prosecutors have been arrested."

"Daut Bibic and Mico Potparic, judges at the high court in Sarajevo, have been arrested by the Muslim army's military police on the orders of Gen. Delic, and they were forced to alter the indictment which they had given to Goldstone at 1100 on 7 February," the information service of the Serb Republic army's general staff stated. It added:

"On 9 February Judge Goldstone informed journalists that he had not been given the indictment, thereby deceiving the world public."

It is said that "The Hague prosecutor spent the whole night between 9 and 10 February in the OSCE headquarters in Budapest and the U.S. military base in Kaposvar changing the versions of indictments, which were changed by the Muslim judicial authorities, in line with orders from The Hague court's prosecutor, so that the Serb officers could be charged and kept in detention."

"Perhaps Serb generals and soldiers will be put on trial on the basis of 'imperial' orders, and disregarding the regulations on which the concept of the legality and legitimacy of the law is based — a concept that was violated by the interference of an illegal 'ad hoc' international court in the competence of the national courts" — the statement by the information service of the Serb Republic Army headquarters ends.

B-H: Karadzic Assails Attempts To Reintegrate Bosnia

LD0902182996 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1710 GMT 9 Feb 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Banja Luka, 9 Feb (SRNA) — Dr. Radovan Karadzic, president of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic, said today in Banja Luka that the borders of the Serb Republic are our biggest achievement, and he warned that the international community is attempting to quash the results of that struggle.

Taking part in the deliberations of the Municipal Committee of the Serb Democratic Party, President Karadzic warned against the international community's attempts to find leaders among the national and leftist parties to campaign for another integration of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and added:

"We will attempt to strengthen the present level of statehood through democratic and political means."

The president of the Serb Republic said that the international community is not honoring its obligations undertaken in Dayton, saying that it has twice extended the deadline for the lifting of sanctions against the Serb Republic. He added:

"The international community cannot go on forever extending the lifting of sanctions, because by doing this it loses credibility and we cannot trust it."

Commenting on the detention of Serb officers, President Karadzic said that with that act the Muslim side has "humiliated the members of IFOR [Implementation Force] and showed that they are not omnipotent, and also that they are biased."

The president of the Serb Republic said that the priority task of Serb Democratic Party is the solution of the refugees issue, saying that the government will soon adopt a law that should solve that issue in an appropriate way.

Boro Sendic, president of the Municipal committeee of the Serb Democratic Pary of Banja Luka, which presently has 11,080 members, spoke on the committee's work, while the chairmen of commissions for village development, veterans' issues, cooperation with local committees, for social issues, economy and youth issues gave their work reports.

B-H: Karadzic Warns Against Harmful 'Foreign' Ideas

LD1002212496 Pale Srpska Televizija
in Serbo-Croatian 1930 GMT 10 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The people expect the Serb Democratic Party to lead the state and to embark without delay on the economic recovery. It is also necessary to enter the political struggle with other parties armed with truth and arguments, it was said at the extended session of the Serb Democratic Party municipal committee of Banja Luka, in whose work the most senior members of the leadership participated. [passage omitted]

Dr. Radovan Karadzic, president of the Republic and of the Serb Democratic Party, informed the main committee members of the current political situation and the implementation of the Dayton agreement.

He underlined the need to care for the family members of fighters, to house refugees, and to work with the young who are the future of the state.

[Begin Karadzic recording] The Serb Democratic Party exercises power through the organs of power, through the government, through executive committees. It realizes its aims. Until now we have been very easy-going about this; we have allowed people to find their way around, we have placed both in the government and in the municipal executive committees people who do not belong to our party. We wanted to have all Serbs on our side and behind this idea, and I think we have not made a mistake.

But, a moment has come when our political opponents are no longer Muslims and Croats but when our political opponents are ideas which, in our opinion, are foreign and harmful to the Serb nation — left-wing, nonnational ideas. We must behave now as a responsible party in power which must be responsible and whose duty it is to do everything possible to win the elections, among others, for a huge number of its members who have tied their fate and the fate of their families to the party. Most of all, because the party must complete its work. [end recording]

Speaking of the state media, President of the Republic Dr. Radovan Karadzic said:

[Begin Karadzic recording] We must have contacts with journalists. We cannot be dissatisfied with the support they give us. But we must understand that state media must advance state politics. There is no way around it. It is the same all over the world. The party's decisions must be implemented because we bring people to power. [end recording] [passage omitted]

B-H: Karadzic 'Delusions' Highlighted by London Daily

MS1202113396 London THE TIMES in English
12 Feb 96 p 13

[Report on interview with Radovan Karadic by Stacy Sullivan; in Zvornik; date not given: "Conflict Leaves Karadciz in Fantasy Land"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Radovan Karadzic is a man with delusions. Sitting at a modern riverfront hotel in Zvornik, he speaks about his plans to rebuild the economy of the Serb Republic. He envisages a first-rate university and medical centre in the new city for the Bosnian Serbs.

Dr Karadzic, who has been indicted by the United Nations War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague, described his visions for an ethnically pure fantasy land and denied that any Muslims were massacred when Bosnian Serb forces overran the Srebrenica enclave in July.

"There was no order to kill them. Nobody under my command would dare kill those who were arrested or captured as prisoners of war," he said in an interview with The Times.

An international warrant has been issued for Dr Karadzic's arrest and his Serb Republic is occupied by several thousand Nato soldiers who are empowered by the Dayton peace accords to detain him and hand him over to the tribunal for trial. But Dr Karadzic, accompanied by several armed bodyguards, still roams Serb-held Bosnia and visits Serbia itself.

Last week he drove in a two-car entourage through the burnt-out houses of Zvornik to a hotel where he met a delegation of other Bosnian Serb leaders before driving to Belgrade. To reach there, he passed through the town of Vlasenica, where American troops have set up a base. Nato patrols were present all along the road. Dr Karadzic and his entourage were not stopped.

It is no secret that the Nato troops from the implementation force (Ifor) are trying to avoid a confrontation with the alleged war criminals. When asked what a Nato official would do if he happened on either Dr Karadzic or General Ratko Mladic, the Bosnian Serb military leader, a Nato officer said: "I think he might do nothing. I'd be astonished if Ifor soldiers actually detained any war criminals."

Dr Karadzic insisted that he is still in charge of the Serb Republic. "I am absolutely fully involved. Everything concerning the Serb Republic is in my hands," he said. He claimed the low profile he has taken since the signing of the Dayton agreement has nothing to do with the international arrest warrant. "I am extremely busy at the moment. We have to build a new economy. We have to set up a banking system and build university and clinical facilities, as well as housing for 130,000 Serbs," he said.

"I want a free society and market economy. We didn't have a single political trial or political prisoner during 312 years of war. Our state is a democracy and we did not commit a single crime."

The Serb Republic had been unfairly vilified, Dr Karadzic said. "We were ethnically cleansed, if you want to know the truth. There are more Serb refugees than Muslims and Croats together, but that was more by events than policy."

Asked why there were still about 30,000 Serbs living in Sarajevo and virtually no Muslims left in the Serb Republic, Dr Karadzic had a ready answer. "Because we did not keep them by force. The Muslims are keeping the Serbs by force. They are ethnic hostages."

Dr Karadzic denied that his army set up detention camps across Bosnia in which tens of thousands of Muslims were imprisoned, tortured and killed. "This is terrible propaganda. The Muslims have killed so many Serb civilians."

Although Dr Karadzic is convinced of his innocence, he has refused to go to The Hague to answer the allegations against him. "If The Hague was a real juridical body I would be ready to go there to testify or do so on television, but it is a political body that has been created to blame the Serbs," he said.

Dr Karadzic said he welcomed the new peace in Bosnia but said the international community had made a mistake in Sarajevo.

"If they had split Sarajevo into two, one half for us and the other for Muslims, Sarajevo would not become a Tehran. If we leave Sarajevo, there will be 112 million Muslims and no European Christian culture, and we will be subjected to fundamentalism."

B-H: Mostar Croats Reject Koschnick's Arbitration

LD1002133796 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 10 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Mostar is slightly warmer toda,y as the snow that literally froze Mostar still over the past two days is slowly thawing.

Although this weekend was expected to be full of stormy political events, there is not much going on a Saturday. It is a working Saturday at the Mostar municipal council in [Croat] Mayor Mijo Brajkovic's office.

He told us that the Croat side has not completely rejected negotiations with the European Union, but it rejected negotiations on [EU Administrator for Mostar] Mr. Koschnick's arbitration. Brajkovic stressed that he believes the negotiations will resume, but that there will be a new solution. He is categorical: The Croat side will not and cannot accept Koschnick's proposal, because it is in contravention of the Dayton agreement and its annex on Mostar, and it was drawn up at the expense of the Croat people. Because of all this, Brajkovic said, the Croat side will ask Carl Bildt to reconsider the constitutionality of Mr. Hans Koschnick's arbitration. According to him, the Croat side is hoping for a resumption of political negotiations and a solution satisfactory for both sides.

Brajkovic also said that the Croat side will offer several buildings in the [words indistinct] — the (?small) joint district — but it expects the same from the Bosniak side. Briefly, the Croat side will suspend negotiations if there are no changes to the arbitration Koschnick has already offered.

No one in Mostar can confirm the arrival of Croatian policemen, announced for today. NATO Secretary General Javier Solana is scheduled to arrive on Monday.

The foundation stone for a new cathedral will be laid near Hotel Ero.

B-H: Koschnick Calls Croatian Accusations 'Propaganda'

AU1202114096 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 0500 GMT 12 Feb 96

[Interview with EU Administrator Hans Koschnick by Rupert Neudeck in Mostar; date not given — recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Moderator Hero Buss] Rupert Neudeck returned from Mostar last night. He also brought along an interview with [EU Administrator] Hans Koschnick. Neudeck's first question was what Koschnick thinks of the accusations leveled against him by Mostar's Croatian mayor, who claims that his plan for dividing the city gives the Muslims an advantage.

[Koschnick] This is propaganda. Both the Croats and the Bosniaks wanted and approved the central district. Both presented plans on that, which we still have. The difference is just that the Croats wanted a far smaller central district and the Bosniaks a far bigger one. The problem of an arbitrator is to find solutions that lie between the proposals on site, when the parties cannot agree on something.

My decision is arbitration and it envisages the front line to be crossed both ways. Part of the Bosnian and part of the Croatian territory are brought together and are administered jointly by Bosniaks and Croats equally. There is no way of steamrolling any part of the population or of outvoting them, doing something that one part does not want. This corresponds to the principle of the Federation, and this is also true here. However, the background is that [Croatian Mayor] Brajkovic does not say we are against it, because Koschnick has crossed the front lines; he does not say we are against it because in the new district there are vacant apartments for expellees, who are now sitting in the dirt on the other side. He says we just do not want to live together with Muslims at any cost. But that is what they signed in the agreement in Washington, in the memorandum of understanding, in Dayton. And that is why the Europeans support my position so emphatically.

No, this claim in DER SPIEGEL, which I know only in excerpts, is the propagandist justification of a behavior that is not approved by any other side but by the Herzegovinian Croats perhaps — not by all, and by some leading figures in Zagreb.

[Neudeck] Was it the most dangerous situation on Wednesday [31 January] that you yourself, and also the administration, the officials, the policemen, have experienced so far?

[Koschnick] As regards the administration and the policemen, yes, I think so, because it was not only I who was in danger but also my four bodyguards. I myself was in the same danger when the grenade was fired on my apartment. The fact that I happened not to be in the room, and therefore survived, is another matter. What was particularly moving for me was the fact that policemen from western Mostar, Croatian policemen, just stood by and watched when their fellow policemen were in danger, and that they watched with a certain relish.

[Neudeck] In Sarajevo one hears that certain circles of the Serbs are watching with great attention and even enjoyment the model of Mostar, that is, the model of Croats who want to prevent this unification of the city. Could the demonstration and the fact that Zagreb has not objected so far have an effect on the entire Dayton process?

[Koschnick] It already has. The Americans and the Europeans are reacting with corresponding nervousness. What is happening in Mostar is a justification for the Serbs in Pale not to implement the unification of Sarajevo but to draw lines — just as here — between one part of the city of Sarajevo and the other part that they have occupied militarily. I assume that the military occupation of Sarajevo has been settled by IFOR [Implementation Force]. However, real power, the implementation of it, when policemen with Kalashnikovs do not permit people to return to their homes — this is just as much Sarajevo's problem. What is demonstrated here is an alibi, an excuse, and at the same time a justification for the Serb side, which does not want Sarajevo to grow together. [passage omitted]

[Neudeck] Is the support you have received from your employer sufficient?

[Koschnick] Yes, I have no reason to complain.

B-H: Croat Mostar Mayor Interviewed on Koschnick, EU

AU1202120796 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 12 Feb 96 p 126

[Interview with Mostar Mayor Mijo Brajkovic by unidentified DER SPIEGEL correspondent; place and date not given: "'I Say No'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [DER SPIEGEL] Mr. Brajkovic, why are you against the reunification of Mostar?

[Brajkovic] I am against forcing this decision. We agreed everything in detail: three communities with a Croat majority, three with a Muslim one. This would have secured our national identity. And now this know-it-all Koschnick invents a seventh "central district"...

[DER SPIEGEL] ...he is not inventing anything, he is using his right to make a decision in the event of a dispute.

[Brajkovic] He is taking the most beautiful part of the town from me. He only wants to help the Muslims to a fourth district.

[DER SPIEGEL] And for that reason you wanted to have him lynched?

[Brajkovic] If that is what Koschnick said I will not speak to him until he apologizes in public. My intervention saved his life.

[DER SPIEGEL] But your policemen were just watching the scene.

[Brajkovic] I am not justifying the attack, but it was a moment of a spontaneous revolt.

[DER SPIEGEL] Koschnick is backed by the EU and the United States...

[Brajkovic] ...he should be backed by the people. That is the only thing that counts. But Koschnick does not talk to them. Instead of talking to widows and orphans he opens kindergartens and schools. He thinks he knows everything better. The politicians who come to us from the West are like engineers without hearts and feelings. Just take Mr. Kinkel, who always shouts: You must! You must! You must! We will not be bought with some rice and some canned food.

[DER SPIEGEL] Have you coordinated your resistance with President Tudjman in Zagreb?

[Brajkovic] He supports our policy without reservation. All of Croatia is on our side. If Tudjman considers my policy wrong, he has to replace me.

[DER SPIEGEL] Are you deliberately provoking the collapse of the Bosnian-Croat Federation?

[Brajkovic] The Federation was established to end the war. But it can only be based on the will of the two nations; if it breaks apart, the blame for it cannot be put on one side. Of course, dividing Bosnia into three parts would have been better.

[DER SPIEGEL] And that is what you now want to force, with a new war, if necessary?

[Brajkovic] Why is everyone concentrating on Mostar all the time? Just look what happens in Sarajevo, Vares, Bugojno — do you call that peace? Why should we start the joint Croat-Muslim police patrols, why do they not begin in some other part of the Federation?

[DER SPIEGEL] You have broken off your relations with the EU. What is the future going to look like?

[Brajkovic] We are prepared for talks — but not talks based on the last Koschnick decree. We will not move one millimeter there. The border between our part of the town and the Muslim part must remain identical with the military demarcation line in Mostar. We have shed blood for that. I want my Croatian part, where nobody tells me how many churches and schools I may build there.

[DER SPIEGEL] The Dayton agreement says that you must allow the Muslims to return to your part of town. When will this happen?

[Brajkovic] We have 16,000 Croatian refugees here, I have to find room for them first. Of course, the Muslims want to come to our side, because life is better here. Why? Because we work harder. But they do not want to hear that, they only want to be pitied. In reality, the Muslims do not want Mostar to be divided into six districts either.

[DER SPIEGEL] Why not?

[Brajkovic] Because our Croats will then demand their own districts in Sarajevo, Tuzla, Zenica, Vares, and Bugojno. The scheme would have to be extended to all of Bosnia. That would mean the collapse of the Federation; then we would also have our own republic.

[DER SPIEGEL] That will not work out peacefully.

[Brajkovic] What does work peacefully here? We have two different cultures here, nobody can force Islam on us. The Muslims on the other side are increasing the volume of the loudspeakers on top of their mosques every day. Does that have to be the future of the Croats? I say no! Because I love my people.

Croatia: Granic, Prlic Insist on Cooperation on Mostar

LD1102193496 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 11 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] We have just learned that Mate Granic, Croatian deputy prime minister and foreign minister, had a meeting with Bosnian Foreign Minister Jadranko Prlic.

Here is a statement we have just received:

Croatian Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Mate Granic had a meeting today with Bosnian Foreign Minister Jadranko Prlic. During the two ministers' first official meeting after the formation of the governments of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, Minister Granic expressed satisfaction with the formation of the two governments in line with the Dayton agreement. He added that this created all conditions for a successful implementation of the provisions stemming from the Dayton and Washington agreements.

The two ministers paid special attention to the latest development of the situation in Mostar, following the disputed decision resulting from EU administrator Hans Koschnick's arbitration. They agreed that the situation in the city had to be calmed. They said that under the current circumstances political talks had to continue in order to find such a compromise solution that will be—in line with the Dayton agreement—honorable and acceptable to all sides and lead toward the further strengthening of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation and the equality of the two nations.

The two ministers decided there was an even greater need now for a constructive involvement of the Croat and Bosniak sides through the federation's institutions and for continued cooperation with the EU and administrator Hans Koschnick. Minister Granic stressed that Croatia would offer full support to such a policy, because it sees the consistent implementation of the Dayton agreement as the basic framework for realizing interests of the two nations.

Speaking in particular about the current processes in the federation, especially the formation of the government and its immediate tasks, the two ministers agreed that the implementation of the federation in all its aspects, and its cooperation with Croatia, are of irreplaceable strategic interest and very important for future relations in this part of Europe. Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, Granic and Prlic said, consider the joining of European integrations and security systems, as well as closer links with third countries, to be their joint strategic goals.

Granic and Prlic agreed on the need to coordinate the return of displaced persons and refugees. They once again pointed to the importance of observing the part of the Dayton agreement on everyone's right to return to their homes. They agreed to cooperate in stepping up efforts for the return of refugees from Velika Kladusa and Cazin, currently sheltered in the Kupljensko [refugee] camp [in Croatia].

During talks on bilateral cooperation, the two ministers confirmed the agreement on the forthcoming meeting of the prime ministers of Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation on 26 February. Several agreements of trade, transport, visas, and other issues relevant for the strengthening of cooperation are expected to be signed at the meeting. Discussion on the use of the port of Ploce will continue. Very soon after the meeting the council for cooperation between the two states will hold its second session. A meeting of parliamentary delegations was announced for early March.

Ministers Granic and Prlic agreed on the need to keep constant contacts and coordinate activities of the foreign ministries of Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation.

Croatia: Slovakia's Meciar Arrives in Zagreb

LD1202103796 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 0600 GMT 12 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar arrived in Zagreb yesterday [11 February]. He is heading a large government delegation accompanied by dozens of Slovak businessmen. Our special correspondent Jozef Rebo has details of the prime minister's meetings yesterday and of the agenda for today.

[Rebo] [passage omitted] Mate Granic, Croatian foreign minister and deputy prime minister, assessed current Croatian-Slovak relations in an interview for Czech Radio.

[Begin Granic recording in Croatian fading into Slovak translation] Slovakia and Croatia are two traditionally friendly countries with no open issues between them. In my view, the visit is very positive in that it will not only promote political relations, but will also assist in dealing with specific issues in the development of cooperation between individual ministries. I think the visit is taking place at the right time because we are expecting the acceleration of economic cooperation, as well as new models of cooperation and joint investments. We are also grateful to Slovak units assisting in Croatia. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Croatia: Matesa, Slovak PM Sign Accords, Comment

LD1202115596 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 12 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] With all due respect to the close and similar history of the Croats and the Slovaks, we have turned to the future—this was the mutual assessment of Croatian and Slovak Prime Ministers Zlatko Matesa and Vladimir Meciar. Here is Andjelko Perincic reporting for Croatian Radio:

[Perincic] During the talks in Zagreb between the two prime ministers and their aides, which ended this morning, they signed several agreements on developing cooperation between the two countries. The Croatian prime minister had the following to say after the talks:

[Begin Matesa recording] I can say that right at the beginning of the talks, we thanked the Slovak prime minister for Slovakia's principled and constructive support for Croatia, which was shown in a policy of support for Croatia's integrity, a peaceful reintegration of the Croatian Danubian area [eastern Slavonia], and Slovakia's concrete contribution to this process in the form of sending its soldiers to the Croatian Danubian area. [end recording]

[Perincic] Adding to his host's statement, Slovak Prime Minister Meciar said:

[Begin Meciar recording in Slovak fading into Serbo-Croatian translation] The fact that most members of the Slovak Government have come to visit the Republic of Croatia with around 60 Slovak businessmen shows the importance we attach to this visit. It is in our interest to support the peace process in southeastern Europe. The agreements signed today open the door to negotiations on establishing a zone of free trade between the two countries. Relevant ministers will determine the details about it. We can see a potential for developing relations in the export of capital and the presentation of our products on third countries' markets, especially in central Europe.

We also agreed on cooperation and support for national minorities. The Slovaks in the Republic of Croatia will remain loyal citizens of your country, and we see their civic rights as their individual rights.

We also agreed to exchange cultural goods. [passage omitted]

Croatia: Slovakia's Meciar Comments on Visit

LD1202130896 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 12 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Today [12 February] is the second, final day of an official visit by the Slovak Government delegation led by Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar to the Republic of Croatia. Our special correspondent Jozef Rebo reports:

[Rebo] [passage omitted] Before midday today Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar met Croatian Prime Minister Zlatko Matesa. Their meeting was followed by a plenary session of the delegations. Vladimir Meciar said among other things:

[Begin Meciar recording] We stood by you during your struggle for sovereignty, we stood by you in your efforts to achieve just peace and we are standing by you at when you need help in rebuilding Croatia. In the course of history there have never been any problems between the Slovaks and the Croats. [passage indistinct] [end recording]

Croatia: Law on Cooperation With International Court

LD0902125996 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 9 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Croatian Government has endorsed the draft constitutional law on cooperation between the Republic of Croatia and the International Court of Justice. This will create the legal framework for effective cooperation between the Republic of Croatia and the International Court, Deputy Prime Minister Dr. Ljerka Mintas-Hodak says in her introduction. The Republic of Croatia, she stresses, has repeatedly emphasized the political desire for cooperation with the International Court, which, she recalls, was stated in the letter of President of the Republic of Croatia Dr. Franjo Tudjman and in the government decisions under which the committee for war crimes was set up and an observer at the International Court appointed. [passage omitted]

Croatia: Sarajevo Accused of Fanning Non-Bosniak Fears

AU1202130196 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 6 Feb 96 p 5

[Commentary by Alenko Zornija: "Fear or Something Else?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Appearing on a Sarajevo Television program immediately after the signing of the Dayton agreement, Radovan Karadzic commented on the loss of what he calls Serb Sarajevo: "Serbs have no reason to be frightened and leave because they are going to have their police in their districts for years and the Muslims will simply not have access."

Since such a claim was made at a rather frustrating moment for the Pale leadership, when excuses were needed for the worried supporters, even lies and absurdities about the building of "a new city for 200,000 citizens," few people were prepared to take this very seriously. Now, however, after the decision that the local Serb police will remain in the part of Sarajevo that should have been handed over to the Federation, the situation looks somewhat different, and the Sarajevo authorities' indignation can be understood. The police issue has proved to be a very serious shortcoming of the peace agreement, and it is clear that some parts of the agreement that are incomplete threaten to produce new problems. The danger is all the greater as IFOR has shown that it does not intend to get seriously involved in that part of implementation. The assumption that the situation in Sarajevo would have been better if the U.S. forces had been deployed there is probably true. In any case, the initial anxieties regarding the "painting over" of UNPROFOR have turned out to be justified.

Incidents during the initial 45 days of implementation—hostages taken on roads around the city and the shell fired on the tram—have shown that the police issue will be very difficult. Now that the Serb police has been allowed to stay another 45 days, the Sarajevo authorities' fears are reaching their peak. The formulation in the joint statement issued by the officials in charge of the agreement's implementation to the effect that the controversial police force can stay "if they act in compliance with the Constitutions of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Federation," has allayed no one's fears as it is quite clear that resettlement and devastation of important industrial capacities—of which German Ambassador Preisinger was also made aware in the case of the Vogosca Volkswagen plant—is not exactly an example of acting "in compliance with the Constitution."

However, this "intervention" in the Dayton agreement is not a key problem. After waiting for almost four years, a month and a half is not terribly long. It is much more worrying that the current "Serb Republic" police may stay in Sarajevo even after the 90th day of implementation. Therefore, what Karadzic spoke about in November may come true. People in Sarajevo are afraid that this police's very "dressing into" the Federal police may be a modality for exactly that. Both media and state officials in Sarajevo reject such a possibility and stress that admission to the Federal police is in the exclusive jurisdiction of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. However, the possibility of serious pressures in this respect was confirmed by Carl Bildt's refusal, when he appeared on Radio-Television of Bosnia-Herzegovina, to reply clearly to the question about the future composition of the police in the parts of Sarajevo that the Serbs are supposed to hand over.

The tension is additionally heightened by the almost plebiscite-like support by the people of the "Serb Sarajevo" for collective evacuation. The fear that they may move out (despite the fact that Croats and Bosniaks represented a majority in these districts) is the Bosnian Serb politicians' huge political trump card and a means of pressure on the international community aimed at gaining by force certain solutions such as the one about the Serb police staying.

Such feeling among the local Serb people was partly achieved by blackmail, something that is most easily established in contacts with citizens who are now freely crossing over from one part of the city to the other. Many of them claim that they would gladly stay, but they "do not dare." On the other hand, it is demanded of the Sarajevo authorities that they do everything to prevent the departure of the Serbs. It was what Christopher also clearly said on the Sarajevo leg of his tour of the country created as a result of the breakup of Yugoslavia. This would, of course, make the international community's job easier.

Some of the Muslim administration's moves, however, almost add fuel to the fire. It openly expressed the intention to set up the city as a canton with a Muslim majority in which the SDA would decide virtually everything. It confirmed that it intended to stand firm on the position that all people whose apartments were proclaimed abandoned and who failed to file a demand to return within an unreasonably short period (by 8 January) no longer had the right of residence. The authorities' justification for this move calling the right of return into question is feeble. For example, Jusuf Zahiragic of the City Ministry for Residence claims that a difference will be made between refugees and people who have left their apartments of their own free will. In fact, however, apartments that belonged to many refugees who, had they stayed, would represent a problem for defense (older people, women, and children) have been proclaimed abandoned. It also seems that there was "ethnic selection," so that Bosniak apartments were not proclaimed abandoned, some non-Bosniaks left under pressure, and so on. The authorities also claim that they do not have enough apartments for refugees and expellees who have arrived in Sarajevo, the families of fallen fighters. That is not true, however, as cases abound of even several apartments being given to people who do not deserve them and of empty apartments "being kept" for Bosniaks.

In the situation in which Serbs should be encouraged to stay, such moves do not really show that the Bosniaks want them to. On the other hand, almost 2,000 Croat families are expressing the wish to return to their apartments, which, despite the efforts by Croat institutions to enable them do so, is still not possible because of the way the current housing and employment policy is being carried out.

Therefore, with the present conduct of Carl Bildt and the certain passivity of the IFOR, the Bosniaks have reasons to be concerned and even indignant, because what has already been agreed is being changed. They need, however, to demonstrate by their behaviour that they do not want to impose absolute authority over non-Bosniaks in Sarajevo.

Croatia: E. Slavonia Serbs Said To Resist Disarming

AU1102193196 Beli Manastir Srpski Radio in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 7 Feb 96

[Report by Petko Koprivica on 78th session "Executive Council of the Beli Manastir municipal assembly" in Beli Manastir on 7 February]

[FBIS Translated Text] Vaso Zigic chaired the 78th session of the Executive Council of the Beli Manastir municipal assembly, which was held in Beli Manastir today. Among the topics discussed at the session were the current military and political situation viewed in the light of Erdut Agreement implementation and UN Resolution 1037, on which Colonel Miodrag Jovanovic, commander of the Baranja Division, held the introductory speech.

Members of the municipal government also discussed the information on the current security situation, as well as the public order in the municipality of Beli Manastir, of which the participants of the session were informed by Bosko Vojnovic, secretary of the Beli Manastir Secretariat of Internal Affairs. Petko Koprivica has a report on the discussion of the two items.

[Koprivica] Regardless of the currently undefined political and territorial position of the Srijem-Baranja province, the security situation and the public order on the territory of the Beli Manastir municipality are satisfactory.

The Baranja division is carrying out all its tasks successfully and responsibly. The demarcation lines are under complete control. The defense forces are fully observing the peace agreement, but are still at the necessary level of combat readiness.

The above are some of the statements that were issued at the session of the Executive Council of the Beli Manastir municipal assembly during the discussion of the information on the political and security situation, as well as the public order. It was pointed out that the Croatian side is trying to get around the Dayton Accord obligations and employing psychological-propaganda war methods with the aim to get the Serb people to change their firm decision to stay in this area.

It was confirmed that readiness was present to cooperate with the representatives of civilian and military structures of the temporary [as heard] UN administration. Moreover, it was stated that demilitarization would start the moment UNTAES [UN Transitional Administration for Eastern Slavonia] forces are deployed in the Srijem-Baranja province. However, apart from the fact that the mode of demilitarization has not been specifically agreed upon, it is quite certain that it will not mean that the Serb side will be disarmed. Therefore, the Baranja Division and the Srijem-Baranja Corps will retain their main functions after the demilitarization process.

The cooperation between the civilian and military authorities in the municipality of Beli Manastir was said to be very successful, and it was decided that coordination be further developed at all levels for maximum conditions to be provided for the functioning of the defense forces in the area. At the same time, the Executive Council unanimously decided that crime combatting activity should be intensified, as should the protection of all Baranja resources.

The need was pointed out for the official authorities to become fully involved in the protection and observance of basic human and civil rights of all non-Serbs who live in the area.

Croatia: Serb Munition Dump Discovered in Gracac

LD1002152096 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 10 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Police in Gracac have discovered a munitions dump that was used to supply Serb paramilitary groups with huge amounts of explosives and bomb-making equipment.

A statement by the head of public relations in the Ministry of Internal Affairs says about 400 boxes of various explosives have been discovered.

It has been established that entry to the dump was via a storehouse used for wheat, the doors of which were concealed by a large amount of wheat. All the explosives were in their original wooden boxes, all of which had a metal seal. Police detectives in the Zadar-Knin area are continuing to carry out investigations in the surrounding area.

The statement also says that a group of inhabitants in the village of Varivode yesterday captured and handed over to the police a member of the Serb paramilitary forces who have been hiding in this area for six months after the military and police operation known as Storm. After a criminal investigation the arrested man was detained in the investigation center of the Split military court.

One may conclude from the police action in Gracac that the remnants of Serb paramilitary groups still believe that they can threaten public order and peace, and the safety of the lives and property of Croatian citizens returning to the liberated areas, by carrying out possible terrorist acts.

The Interior Ministry statement says, among other things: The police action in Gracac is the latest in a series of so far successful operations which have been carried out. Their purpose is to prevent by any means any attempt to carry out a terrorist act.

FYROM: Prime Minister Announces Government Reshuffle

LD1002165696 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1524 GMT 10 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Skopje, 10 Feb (TANJUG)—Branko Crvenkovski, prime minister of The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM], announced a government reshuffle in Skopje today. Despite President Kiro Gligorov's appeal for unity and compromise in the ruling coalition, there are no ministers from the Liberal Party in the new government.

The insistence of the prime minister and head of the leading party in the ruling coalition to remove Liberal ministers from the government confirmed expectations that this clash will benefit most the Shiptars from the Party of Democratic Prosperity [PDP; Partija Demokratskog Prosperitet]. They have now obtained five posts in the government, as opposed to the earlier four. [passage omitted]

Crvenkovski said there are nine new ministers in the reshuffled government. In a written address to the parliament, he suggested that the deputies vote on the proposal for the new government on Tuesday, 13 February.

One of the new people in the government is Tomislav Cokrevski, the new interior minister. Former Interior Minister Ljubomir Frckovski will take over the Foreign Ministry, replacing Stevo Crvenkovski from the Liberal Party. [passage omitted]

The new finance minister will be Taki Fiti, dean of the Faculty of Economics. Famous theater director Slobodan Unkovski will be the new minister of culture.

Some opposition parties and media in Skopje describe the ignoring of Gligorov's request for a compromise between the Social Democratic and Liberal parties as "a new assassination attempt against the president."

Crvenkovski told journalists today that "the formation of the new government, politically more responsible and more effective," without Liberals who took part in the old government as experts, does not imply a change in the ruling coalition's election program. He said the government will be open to new parties and individuals.

The time of trial facing this new Balkan state will show whether this move by Crvenkovski, which marks the end of a political partnership (with the Liberals), will be followed by a definitive "denouement between morality and interests."

FYROM: OSCE Envoy, PDP View 'Interethnic' Ties

AU1202100596 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1735 GMT 10 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Harry Blut, special envoy of the High Commissariat of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe [OSCE] on international relations, was received in Tetovo by Abdurahman Aliti, chairman of the Party for Democratic Prosperity [PDP in Macedonian, PPD in Albanian], and Hysen Ramadani, coordinator of the Albanian parliament members at the Macedonian Assembly. Here is a telephone report by our correspondent Imer Ismajli from Skopje:

[Ismajli] During the meeting, Blut showed interest in the current political situation in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], in the problems of education, particularly higher education, as well as in the reshuffling of the cabinet.

PDP Chairman Abdurahman Aliti said that interethnic relations in Macedonia will further aggravate the political situation as the problems on various spheres continue to remain unsolved due to the constitutional concept that [words indistinct] and favors one side to the detriment of the other. The question of higher education is the most important issue about which, unfortunately, there exist significant distinctions between the Macedonian and Albanian sides.

Chairman Aliti went on to say that the development of the political situation and interethnic relations in Macedonia will depend on whether this question will be resolved or not.

Poland: Military on U.S. Report on East European Armies

WS0902154096 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 9 Feb 96 p 2

[Report "GJ, LUZ": "Polish Armed Forces. U.S. Congress Report; Soviet Models"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] *U.S. experts claim that only the Czechs have adequately prepared their Army for integration into NATO.*

[Passage omitted] Tadeusz Wilecki, chief of the General Staff, did not reply to ZYCIE WARSZAWY's written request for comment on the criticism of the Polish Armed Forces. Deputy Minister Stanislaw Dobrzanski said curtly: "I do not think the reservations of the U.S. Congress about Poland's membership in NATO are as serious as some commentaries might suggest."

Jerzy Milewski, head of the presidential National Security Office, was equally laconic: "I have read only press reports, not documents, therefore I would not like to comment on this. If one does think about it, however, you cannot exclude the possibility that, just as a negative stereotype of NATO prevails in Russia, the United States might perceive us in the context of the Warsaw Pact."

As early as two years ago, a representative of the U.S. Administration said that decommunization of the military structures in countries of the former Eastern bloc is a precondition for NATO expansion. The then Defense Ministry Spokesman Colonel Wieslaw Rozbicki (currently in charge of military training in the Warsaw Military District) replied: "The Americans had better decommunize their own Army and look for communists at home. Decommunization is our internal problem, and we are the ones to decide whether we need it."

Poland: Roundup of Warsaw Press on New Cabinet

WS0902150296

[FBIS Report] On 8 November, the major Warsaw vernacular dailies commented on the new cabinet formed by Prime Minister Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz.

RZECZPOSPOLITA, a centrist newspaper, carries on page 5 two commentaries—one by Krzysztof Gottesman, the other by Piotr Aleksandrowicz—totaling 900 words, under the joint title "Sentenced to Each Other."

Gottesman writes: "In terms of politics, we should not expect any major change. The way negotiations between the two ruling parties proceeded indicates that there are no big differences between them, and the new amendment to the coalition agreement pertains exclusively to economic issues. All political bargaining and discussions between the coalitionists were limited to a distribution of offices and spheres of influence." He adds: "Both for the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] and the Polish Peasant Party [PSL], the desire to remain in power was the predominant motive at the negotiating table. The opposition's hopes of upsetting the coalition and placing the SLD beyond the Cabinet were doomed to failure from the start. Practically no other coalition is possible in the current Sejm. Not only are the SLD and the PSL strongly bonded by joint interests, but differences in platforms and ideologies between the opposition and coalition parties are too huge to create a different government. This is hardly likely to change in the future. It does not seem that anything will change before the current parliamentary term expires."

Underneath the above, Piotr Aleksandrowicz's comment states: "Most probably, the price for leaving [Privatization Minister] Wieslaw Kaczmarek in office was the proviso that privatization decisions are to be made only after the Council of Ministers approves privatization projects for the particular sectors. Moreover, some of the concrete privatization decisions are to be made by the government en bloc, and the whole issue is to be settled by a resolution." Aleksandrowicz indicates that this means two things. "First, privatization decisions will be further delayed. Developing projects for privatization of specific sectors, as the examples of the petrochemical and sugar industries best illustrate, can take several years. Second, these provisions undeniably enfeeble the position of the privatization minister. With time, he will become merely the executor of decisions made by the coalition politicians." "In this context," the author goes on, "the announcement that the statutes and management agreements of the National Investment Funds, which will undoubtedly bring reaction from abroad, does not seem peculiar. Once the PSL and the SLD had agreed on the mechanism of slowing the pace of privatization, they considered it appropriate to send out a signal to foreign investors that there exists no agreement politicians would hesitate to revoke overnight." Aleksandrowicz also points out that the addendum to the coalition agreement does not even mention Deputy Prime Minister Kolodko's "Package 2000." "The only mention of taxes echoes the statement issued last year that they should be lowered for the lowest income groups. The statement that the inflation rate would be a one-digit figure by 1997 was not upheld; nothing specific was said about inflation, the budget deficit, or limiting the redistribution role of the government." Aleksandrowicz also notes that "the stance on our aspirations for OECD membership has not changed, which means that the government has not developed an agenda for the indispensable adaptation of our legislation."

GAZETA WYBORCZA, an independent daily, carried an untitled 70-word front-page commentary by Rafal Zakrzewski. "By getting rid of [former Justice Minister] Jaskiernia, the prime minister rid himself of the party hump that had been resting on the coalition government's back ever since the presidential elections," the commentary says. Zakrzewski asks the rhetorical question of "whether new Interior Minister Zbigniew Siemiatkowski, a leader of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic, can guarantee that the case of Jozef Oleksy, the chairman of his party, will be settled without political pressure from outside."

ZYCIE WARSZAWY, a right-of-center independent paper, carries on page 1 a 250-word commentary by acting Chief Editor Jerzy Wysocki. "Changes in the most crucial ministries were an acid test of Cimoszewicz's independence and credibility. The preliminary results of that test are positive." Of the new Justice Minister Leszek Kubicki, "a nonaligned former member of the Polish United Workers Party," Wysocki says: "We do not know enough about him to say whether he will be really immune to political pressure." And, of new Interior Minister Zbigniew Siemiatkowski, he writes: "We know too much about him. As a spokesman of Aleksander Kwasniewski's campaign staff, he let himself be known as an aggressive politician and an overzealous executor of his party's policies. The ease with which he brought political charges against the secret services at the time gives reason to doubt whether as a minister he will be a statesman rather than a party member. It is hoped that the example of [his predecessor] Konieczny will prove an ample warning."

TRYBUNA, a leftist daily, carries a front-page commentary by Chief Editor Dariusz Szymczycha under the "100 Words" rubric. Szymczycha parries criticism of the new government: "The opposition has already stated that the retention of the SLD-PSL cabinet indicates a strong attachment to power. I do not think the SLD can be accused of this, considering its popularity is soaring to unprecedented levels." The commentary adds that "we have a new prime minister, who, albeit strongly affiliated with the SLD, has always stressed his independence from party policies." Szymczycha concludes: "The political romantic will have to prove he is effective, something I wish him and all of us."

Poland: Politicians Criticize New Cabinet Composition

WS0902134996

[FBIS Report] On 9 February, two major Warsaw vernacular dailies carried politicians' reactions to the newly formed Cimoszewicz Cabinet.

GAZETA WYBORCZA on page two published a 700-word report by "DOM," "KNYSZ," and "WZ" entitled "Opinions on Wlodzmierz Cimoszewicz's Cabinet; No Preferential Treatment." The authors quote representatives of the patriotic camp as saying that "the Cimoszewicz government is a government of arrogance. It consists of people who are discredited and incompetent." According to them, under Zbigniew Siemiatkowski the Internal Affairs Ministry [MSW] will "acquire characteristics of a military arm of the communist party." They are also quoted as saying that there is a danger that Jerzy Wiatr will introduce "basic principles of Marxism and Leninism" into the Polish educational system. Wieslaw Kaczmarek, they say, "is rapidly" selling national assets before the enfranchisement referendum.

GAZETA WYBORCZA also reports that Solidarity Chairman Marian Krzaklewski does not expect "anything new" from the Cimoszewicz Cabinet. It quotes him as saying that several of the new Cabinet members "do not want agreement with Solidarity and are our enemies."

Jan Olszewski, leader of the Movement for the Reconstruction of Poland, believes that the nomination of Jerzy Wiatr, one of the main ideologists of the former Polish United Workers Party, as education minister proves that "the position of the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] has gone down."

Union of Labor [UP] Spokesman Tomasz Nalecz told GAZETA WYBORCZA that "in the very bad situation in which we are today, any change brings certain hope. This hope is pinned on Prime Minister Cimoszewicz, who has often acted differently from his party colleagues. Fortunately, the most controversial ministers, MSW head Konieczy and Justice Minister Jaskiernia, were recalled." Nalecz called the appointment of Siemiatkowski as head of the MSW a party nomination but added that "Leszek Kubicki as justice minister offers a chance to improve the image of this ministry."

The authors of the report also report on a statement made by Jozef Oleksy. In an interview for the RMF FM radio station, the former prime minister criticized Cimoszewicz for ousting Jaskiernia and Konieczy from the government. However, the authors also quote a statement Oleksy made later on, in which he said that he did not object to ousting Jaskiernia from the government: "I shared the opinion that there should be a change in the post of justice minister."

GAZETA WYBORCZA also quotes an anonymous PSL deputy who said that the new MSW head would not guarantee impartiality in the Oleksy case: "It was Siemiatkowski who kept saying that the allegations leveled at the former prime minister were a provocation of the special services."

ZYCIE WARSZAWY on page two carries a 600-word report by Piotr Zaremba entitled "Opposition: This Is Not an Entirely New Government." Among the politicians quoted by Zaremba is Jan Litynski of the Freedom Union, who said that the change in the coalition accord "may result in blocking privatization." According to him, the appointment of Judge Kubicki as justice minister is "a good thing." Litnyski adds, however, that "it is difficult to imagine that Zbigniew Siemiatkowski will guarantee that the MSW will remain nonpolitical in the Oleksy case." The UP politician also fears that, as a consequence of the appointment of Leszek Miller as head of the Office of the Council of Ministers, which is "bad news," "party interests may dominate in the administration."

Zaremba also quotes Artur Smolko of UP, who has doubts about whether Zbigniew Siemiatkowski is the right person to head the MSW, and whether Jerzy Wiatr should be the education minister. Smolko adds, however, that any government without Jaskiernia is better. According to him, it is a "government that will continue the economic policy."

ZYCIE WARSZAWY also quotes Stanislaw Michalkiewicz of the Union for Real Politics, who points out that Zbigniew Siemiatkowski "criticized the special services, which means that he can do some cleaning there." According to Michalkiewicz, the composition of the new government shows that the SLD has few people to choose from.

Poland: Miners Demand Dismissal of Industry Minister

LD1002192196 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1800 GMT 10 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The dispatch of coal from mines will stop on 12 February. Following the collapse of talks with the employers yesterday, the leadership of the Solidarity mining section announced a general strike in the entire hard-coal-mining sector. Krystian Zajac, the chairman of the Employers Union of the mining sector, said that another meeting between employers and representatives of the Solidarity national section of miners will be held on Monday. However, Karol Luzniak, the head of the Solidarity miners union denied that information.

The Solidarity interenterprise strike committee has sent a letter to Industry Minister Klemens Scierski demanding that he take an immediate stand on the situation that has arisen.

Meanwhile, the Miners Union National Council has approached Prime Minister Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz demanding Minister Scierski's dismissal.

Poland: Daily Says Cimoszewicz Mistrusted by SLD

WS1202101296 Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 2 Feb 96 p 1

[Article by Roman Zielinski: "In My View"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The selection made by Aleksander Kwasniewski is no surprise whatsoever. The government was to be formed by the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] and the Polish Peasant Party [PSL]. Any attempts to form the cabinet by the opposition, at that moment, were bound to fail.

The president was only annoyed by the fact that his former colleagues (including PSL activists) were finding fault with everything and were unable to fill the vacant post left by Jozef Oleksy (incidentally, the former prime minister was a leading person in negotiating his successor.) Selecting Cimoszewicz is surprising inasmuch as he had been considered in the SLD to be a person who cannot be trusted because he "keeps his own counsel." From time to time, he took the opposition by surprise with his unusual proposals.

It is worth remembering that Cimoszewicz was the originator of the idea that the SLD not propose its own candidate for president but rather bet on Kuron or Zielinski. After the idea had been rejected, he firmly stood by Kwasniewski, working very hard for his victory. But he did not take any of the important posts in the president's Chancellery. Yet, during the campaign, he had the guts to criticize Minister Jaskiernia for being slow in explaining "touchy" issues in public related to the SLD candidate. Critical assessments of his associates have become Cimoszewicz's trademark. When he tried to have SLD Deputy Sekula's immunity lifted, he had the courage to criticize Kwasniewski's conservative attitude on that issue.

Poland: Gains, Losess of Coalition Partners Viewed

WS1202103996 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 7 Feb 96 p 5

[Article by Ewa K. Czaczkowska and Eliza Olczyk: "Balance of the Coalition"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Formation of the new government two days before the deadline set by the small constitution cannot be hailed as a success of the coalition of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] and the Polish Peasant Party [PSL]. Lengthy discussions about the composition of the new government once again exposed big differences between the coalition partners. The inevitable cabinet reshuffle was carried out without the opposition participating in this process. This is the only thing that can be hailed as a success of the SLD and the PSL. The changes, however insignificant, are not only cosmetic, whereas, when Wlodzimier Cimoszewicz was beginning to form his cabinet, he announced that the changes would only be cosmetic.

SLD's Gains

Changes in the office of the justice minister and prosecutor general were unavoidable. If Jerzy Jaskiernia had kept his office in the new Cabinet, there is no doubt that the parliamentary opposition would have made yet another attempt to recall him from the post. Before the Jozef Oleksy Cabinet stepped down, a motion to hold a vote of confidence was already prepared; now it has become unnecessary. Thus, by ousting Jaskiernia, Cimoszewicz right at the beginning avoided a political quarrel over the justice minister. Moreover, the replacement of Jaskiernia with a Supreme Court judge will undoubtedly boost the image of the Justice Ministry. Another plus for the SLD is the fact that Privatization Minister Wieslaw Kaczmarek has remained in office, even though it seems that the appendix to the coalition accord considerably limited his powers. Despite that, the peasants, who have submitted several motions requesting Kaczmarek's dismissal, again failed to achieve their goal.

As a result of the government reshuffle, National Education Minister Ryszard Czarny lost his job. He lost his position thanks to his party colleagues, who found quite a lot of faults with him.

Also advantageous to the SLD is the replacement of Jozef Oleksy with Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz. The new prime minister is not a member of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic. On many occasions he tried to give the impression that he was independent in making his judgments—both as a Sejm deputy and as justice minister. He even gained recognition because of this in the eyes of part of the parliamentary opposition. Opposition parties will doubtlessly not throw their support behind the new government, but it should be expected that, for some time, the Cimoszewicz cabinet will not be attacked by them. The appendix to the coalition accord should also improve the SLD's relations with the PSL. Thus, there are many signs that that the change of government will yield quite a few advantages for the SLD—on the condition that Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz, who has been a loner on the political scene, will not cause the SLD problems.

PSL's Losses

The PSL certainly cannot consider itself to be the winner in the negotiations on formation of the new coalition cabinet. When the peasants began the talks, their position was exceptionally strong. As a result of the so-called Oleksy case, they became a far stronger partner than was indicated by their position in the Sejm or by the result of the presidential elections. This position was reinforced by the Freedom Union, the strongest party of the parliamentary opposition, which submitted an offer to form a joint government. However, the peasants turned down the efforts that were being made by the parliamentary opposition and did not listen to appeals that were being made by the extraparliamentary opposition—they feared that negotiations held among several partners would be more difficult and the benefits smaller. The peasants chose the SLD, arguing that such are the sympathies of their electorate, which was allegedly proved in the presidential elections.

After two weeks of negotiations, and even after a little blackmail yesterday, the peasants failed to gain much. Quite a few of the PSL's deputies were hoping that the prime minister would be designated by their party. Conducive to this was the atmosphere surrounding the SLD, which was caused by the Oleksy case. However, as a result of internal conflicts within the PSL, the peasants failed to put forward another—aside from Pietrewicz—candidate for prime minister, even though the SLD was ready to accept Aleksander Luczak. Another issue that is sometimes raised is whether this would have been beneficial to the peasant party.

The peasants failed to take care of two other issues they considered priorities: changes in the Justice Ministry and in the Ministry of Ownership Transformation. Even though Jerzy Jaskiernia left, the ministry remained in the hands of the SLD, which is in line with the original division of the areas of influence. PSL leaders fought until the end to appoint Aleksander Bentkowski as justice minister. They failed, and this was their first failure. It was not necessary to change the government in order to recall Jaskiernia. The PSL could only have backed the motion submitted by the parliamentary opposition in the Sejm, which a considerable part of the PSL club was leaning toward recently.

The second failure was as follows: The fact that Wieslaw Kaczmarek was allowed to stay on in the Ministry of Ownership Transformation. The peasants were very serious about the Kaczmarek case. Two days ago they said that his dismissal was a condition of maintaining the coalition. The fact that Kaczmarek will stay is to be partially offset for the PSL by the appendix to the coalition accord, which will enable the PSL to gain greater influence on privatization decisions in the ministry. Nonetheless, it is difficult to hail this as a success from the point of view of the peasant party.

The peasants may be satisfied with the fact that another deputy prime minister for economic affairs was appointed. However, this joy may be a little marred by the fact that [Deputy Prime Minister] Miroslaw Pietrewicz took the place of another PSL member—Aleksander Luczak.

Waldemar Pawlak also has reason to be satisfied. At the time when the government was being changed—that is, when everyone in the party, which had been going through internal conflicts for a long time, needed unity—he managed to confirm his position as chairman of the party. What is more, he weakened one of his opponents—Aleksander Luczak, whom the party recalled from the post of deputy prime minister, even though what Pawlak would have preferred was to oust [from the government] Roman Jagielinski, his main countercandidate for PSL chairman. The negotiations also allowed Pawlak to prove to his party colleagues that he was the main player there.

Poland: Ombudsman: Media Irresponsible in Oleksy Case

LD1002000496 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 2200 GMT 9 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] In a televised address, Tadeusz Zielinski, the Civil Rights ombudsman, commented on the recent events in Poland, including the so-called Oleksy case as well as the judgment passed on Jerzy Urban for the violation of state secrets. The editor in chief of the NIE weekly was, among other things, banned from pursuing his profession as a journalist for one year.

[Begin Zielinski recording] I share the reservations expressed by the journalistic community about the overly repressive law, which may serve to stifle the freedom of journalistic expression for reasons of political expediency. I also notice with concern the irresponsible use of the media, which has recently become ever so frequent.

The example of this was the way the public was informed about the proceedings, held behind closed doors, of the Sejm Extraordinary Commission, which was appointed to establish the lawfulness of the actions of the state security services in the case of the former prime minister, rather than his liability.

The mass media were wrong to use the improper expression about the presumed contacts between politicians and foreign intelligence agents. [end recording]

Poland: Intelligence Chief on 'Oleksy Case,' Media

WS0902132496 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 3-4 Feb 96 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Gromoslaw Czempinski, head of the Office of State Protection [UOP], by Anna Marszalek; place and date not given: "The 'Oleksy Case' Is Being Politically Played Outside UOP; Services on the Bend"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Marszalek] Can you comment on the article carried by THE WASHINGTON POST that said that the Clinton administration suspects that Yevgeniy Primakov, newly appointed Russian minister of foreign affairs, as the head of Russian intelligence was in charge of the clandestine operation whose purpose was to restore power to the Polish communists. According to the authors of the column, Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, who usually are well informed, in 1991 the KGB gave the activists of the former Polish United Workers Party money to create an economic base for future electoral successes. Primakov reportedly selected Oleksy as "his man" in Warsaw, which was at the time launching the operation that was to "outwit" democracy in Poland.

[Czempinski] These are speculations that, I believe, are really farfetched. They are based largely on the open intelligence in which the CIA is involved in Poland; I mean analysis of everything that can be obtained legally, including the press. Polish journalists do not know how great an influence they have on materials that governments of other countries receive—materials that have been analyzed by intelligence services, among others. We did not pass any opinions to any special services that tried to find out something from us about this.

[Marszalek] Did anyone of the president's entourage discuss the draft vetting law [pertaining to the vetting of state officials] with you?

[Czempinski] No, the services are not being treated very kindly at the moment. No one discussed it with us.

[Marszalek] Do you think the Democratic Left Alliance has no reason to disbelieve the services?

[Czempinski] It has no reason for that. After all, it is not the services that are playing the political aspect of the "Oleksy case." One has to think about who makes statements on this issue. The services do not do this.

UOP Lost to the Political Interest

[Marszalek] What about statements made by Fonfara, Jasik, and Miodowicz?

[Czempinski] What I recommended was the following: "Silence." However, I know that this recommendation was not acted upon. Whoever evaluated material pertaining to this case did the wrong thing. The stand the Office of State Protection [UOP] took on these materials was expressed in the fact that the motion signed by the minister was submitted in the prosecutor's office. Only after the prosecutor makes certain decisions will it be possible to determine whether the materials were sufficient. Today we must not speculate on this subject because this means exerting influence on a court of law. The statement by Fonfara, who said that "80 percent" of the information published by WPROST is true, was forced by the journalists; and it referred to the part of the article that was based on the lawsuit materials obtained from the prosecutor's office.

[Marszalek] What about the 20 percent that could not be found in the prosecutor's office, such as the "Kat" and "Minim" pseudonyms, which allegedly were the code names of other KGB informers in the leadership circles of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic?

[Czempinski] I do not know where these pseudonyms were taken from or who provided this information and for what purpose. I even spoke to people who have an interest in this issue, and I was thinking whom all this served. Of course, I will not say whether they are true. I think it is beyond any doubt that the purpose was to turn the "Oleksy case" into a political affair. The services are not entitled to leak information to the press. As I see it, however, this is part of inspiration and disinformation activity that had a specified political goal and result. UOP and its head do not have anything to do with it.

[Marszalek] Still, operational information did leak to the press.

[Czempinski] Yes, unfortunately it did. After I watched the "Panorama" [television newscast] on 19 December, I knew that no one would be able to prevent the "Oleksy case" from surfacing. I was sure that political interests would prevail. In a case in which a person is suspected of high treason, even if it is a person I detest, I believe there must be the best possible conditions to pass an objective sentence. These charges are the worst that a man can face. One must not be guided by political considerations in the case of such charges.

[Marszalek] Do you think this issue could have been settled "politically," quietly?

[Czempinski] I do not want to discuss this.

Milczanowski's Terrible Choice

[Marszalek] Do you think it was the right thing to do to disclose the issue in the Sejm?

[Czempinski] This was a problem that had to be handled by Minister Milczanowski. I signed all of the important decisions in the operational part of this case. I am not ashamed of any of these decisions, and I do not have any doubt about them whatsoever. Where politics began, the role of UOP head ended. I am fighting because I want our organization to be professional. It was Minister Milczanowski who had to take a risk. The issue arouses enormous political emotions, and UOP has found itself at the worst turn so far. During my talks with the minister, I kept telling him that the first victim of such decisions would be the services themselves. I also said that the next step would be vetting. All of this proved correct.

[Marszalek] The minister feared that, after his resignation, the issue might have been "hushed up." Were these fears justified?

[Czempinski] The minister would be concerned; he knew that he was vacating the office and he expected further changes. After a change in the office of the minister and the office of the head of UOP, things might have gone in a different direction. The investigation directorate assessed that the materials were sufficient to submit a motion to the prosecutor's office. Thus, the minister was entitled to submit it. It was an additional safety measure.

[Marszalek] What you are saying suggests that it is not objective legal regulations that decide whether the services decide to conduct some activity and how they decide to conduct it (theoretically speaking, in the case of a justified suspicion that an offense has been committed, each if such case should reach a prosecutor's office). It looks like this depends on the person who is in charge of the ministry.

[Czempinski] The case would have been further pursued. Operational measures either might have assured that the documents pertaining to this case were strong, or they might have undermined those documents. It is impossible to "hush up" a case. The new minister would have to exert influence on the UOP head; the UOP head would have to apply pressure on the head of the directorate, who would have to put pressure on his deputy for operational affairs, and the deputy would have to apply pressure on the employees. This is impossible. Everyone would have to agree not to pursue the case. Even if we had been replaced by others, after half a year we might have asked what had happened to the case. Since we are experts, we would not have accepted an explanation that something had gone wrong. We would have been able to assess this; we would have been able to detect manipulation, and we could have turned to the Sejm commission.

[Marszalek] Which means that the minister's fears were unjustified?

[Czempinski] The minister was entitled to evaluate the entire issue subjectively. It was a great dilemma for him to make a decision; he had to resolve this dilemma. He also gave political reasons that he took into account in making his decision. Incidentally, he wanted to make sure in various places that the decision he was going to make was right. Here is what he told me: "Gromoslaw, what a terrible choice this is." Even though he was able to consult his closest aides, he was the only person who had to take the consequences. He took on a huge burden.

The Vetting Law Is a Step Backward

[Marszalek] Is UOP going to survive President Kwasniewski's [draft] vetting law?

[Czempinski] This draft law is a great step backward in the democratization process in our country. It will kill the services. There will be no chance for us to have collaborators. Right after the president made his first statements on the opening of archives up to 1995, we received messages full of concern from all over the world. We will be a country without these services; we will be an open state, even though we are a country where many economic and political interests cross. Even small countries that cannot afford to maintain intelligence and counterintelligence services do not do that.

[Marszalek] Does such a version of this draft law hit primarily the opposition?

[Czempinski] Politicians of nearly all groupings currently agree with the view that a vetting law is needed. To me there is no doubt that the [special] services were assaulted because the "Oleksy case" was turned into a political affair. No one waited for the statement that was to evaluate whether their actions were legal and a sentence was passed on them. This solution is compared to the Gauck Institute, but those who do this forget that in that case a democratic state [the FRG] swallowed a communist country. This was not done in any other country of the former socialist bloc. Information is manipulated because, even in Germany, intelligence and counterintelligence files never reached the institute. In our country, when partial vetting begins, nothing will guarantee that it will not affect more and more people as time goes by. On the basis of the materials that can be found in the archives, even judges will have difficulty making unequivocal decisions. One will have to use the services of experts—that is, probably negatively cleared employees of the [communist] Security Services who dealt with the opposition (former Third and Fourth Departments). Aside from that, it must be remembered that approximately one-third of the files were burned. There is only partial information on many collaborators. In some cases the materials can be interpreted in various ways. In addition, there is also information about the dramas of people who were of interest to the services and who were blackmailed into cooperation. There are also a lot of false documents.

UOP is being attacked at a moment when the Polish services have found a strong place for themselves among the Western services, when they have subjected themselves to the process of democratization. They are under civilian control. After all, we should act as part of the state, and our activity should be timeless.

[Marszalek] The presidential bill saves the Military Information Services.

[Czempinski] Which gladdens my heart. Perhaps at least these services in this country will be allowed to act in peace. [passage omitted]

[Czempinski] I am trying to be nonpolitical and to instill this into the minds of others. One has to see the difference, one has to know whether the entire government or just a few frustrated people are invloved in this.

Politicians Buy Materials on Opponents in Information-Providing Companies

[Marszalek] You believe that they do this because they are frustrated?

[Czempinski] How, if not in this way, can you account for such actions? I want to find positive values in my office, and I hope no one is doing this in line with some schedule, in cold blood. Then I would have to say that the office is political, which it is not, and it proved this during the election campaign. Groups abide by principles specified by laws. However, we are only human, and politicians may promise the moon. There are political parties that ask companies that provide secret economic information to obtain materials against a politician of another party. Journalists also receive money for articles; they get money to cover all of their expenses, just to find materials against a political opponent. Politicians use journalists in the fight against other politicians. How will this end? [passage omitted]

[Marszalek] However, you receive tasks from politicians: the minister, the prime minister, the president.

[Czempinski] Yes, we do, and for the reason that the UOP head ought to be a nonpolitical specialist.

We Nearly Excluded a KGB Provocation in the 'Oleksy Case'

[Marszalek] What does this look like in the "Oleksy case"?

[Czempinski] The commission stated that the office was not political in this case. Please note that it only collected materials. Then it passed them on to the constitutional authorities, and this is where its role ends. In line with the law on UOP, the UOP head does not decide how a piece of information should be used. Now, what politicians do with it is a different story. In addition, this is a major element of civilian control over the services. It is the minister who decides whether to use a piece of information and how to use it.

[Marszalek] You fell victim to the civilian minister and other politicians?

[Czempinski] Why are you saying this?

[Marszalek] In the context of the "Oleksy case," you were accused of a dirty provocation, the inability to efficiently collect information, which you were unable to verify; as a result, the possibility of a KGB provocation cannot be ruled out.

[Czempinski] If you think about everything UOP did, nothing was received enthusiastically. It was always said that the services did something badly, unnecessarily, too early or too late. The preliminary report drawn up by the Sejm Extraordinary Commission did not bear out these accusations leveled at UOP.

[Marszalek] You said that one cannot be 100-percent sure that there was no provocation on the part of foreign services in the "Oleksy case."

[Czempinski] We have to take all possibilities into account. We have almost entirely excluded this one. However, we are continuing operational activities in this case. The prosecutor's office will also have to find an answer to this question. [passage omitted]

Poland: SdRP Secretary General on Oleksy Case

WS1202095796 Wroclaw SLOWO POLSKIE in Polish 29 Jan 96 p 3

[Interview with Jerzy Szmajdzinski, secretary general of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic and chairman of the SLD parliamentary club, by Marek Burczyk; place and date not given: "He Who Lives by the Sword Shall Die by the Sword"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Burczyk] Why did the Democratic Alliance of the Polish Republic [SdRP] defend Oleksy as if it were defending sovereignty, since it is well known that the prime ministership requires the utmost social confidence, which Mr. Oleksy, to a great extent, has lost? I also think that your party is losing politically, too. Even Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski [prime minister in the General W. Jaruzelski government], associated with the left wing for years, acknowledged that Oleksy should have been aware of Alganov's double role and that a politician of that rank should not have made friends with any secretary of any embassy, whatsoever.

[Szmajdzinski] In the civilized world, as we know it, there is a principle of presumed innocence, which one should adhere to. Basically, the whole affair is not about him. It is an attack on the entire social democratic formation in Poland, after Lech Walesa was defeated in the presidential elections. When it turned out that it was difficult to defeat us using democratic election procedures, the opposition resorted to different methods of political struggle. Part of the mass media became the battlefield, and the operational materials of the Office of State Protection [UOP], channeled to the press through controlled leaks, the weapon. Public opinion has split up, indeed, but it has not subscribed to the opposition's opinions on this issue thus far.

[Burczyk] There is no denying the fact that, as a result of this prolonged standing up for Oleksy, the SdRP is losing scores. The prime minister has submitted his resignation, but this step, from a political point of view, seems to be delayed...

[Szmajdzinski] The immediate resignation may have been interpreted and perceived as an admission of guilt. The time that has elapsed since Milczanowski brought the charges was necessary for public opinion to get acquainted with our arguments and assessment of the situation. Incidentally, Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski largely shared this assessment in their "open letter to political parties," at least as far as the provocative nature and mechanism of this "issue" are concerned. After all, this operation, accompanied by propaganda, is similar to the measures taken in the 1970's and 1980's to eavesdrop on the opposition. In the course of this operation, designed to form a certain public opinion and exert pressure on the Prosecutor's Office, not only was the democratic order of proceedings reversed, but also state secrets of utmost importance were violated.

[Burczyk] What is your opinion of the proposal made by Kuron, Modzelewski, and Kolodko, to mention a few, that the parliamentary committee's work be of an open nature?

[Szmajdzinski] This is a kind of case where every statement, every ruling will be contested by some people. Therefore, the ultimate judge here should be public opinion, which should also be given an opportunity to learn the truth in an impartial manner. Overall, I am in favor of Kuron and Modzelewski's proposal. The problem, however, is that at present there is a lack of statutory regulations that would enable the implementation of the open mode of the committee's works. In this situation, the publication of a white book, containing all materials and documents related to the case, can be a solution to meet public expectations.

[Burczyk] The WPROST weekly charged almost the entire managerial staff of the SdRP of spy links to a foreign superpower. DZIENNIK POZNANSKI, in turn, has charged Marek Krol, the chief editor of WPROST, with committing the same sin. Mr. Marek Krol responds that this is the RdSP's revenge...

[Szmajdzinski] The WPROST weekly's scoop on the SdRP was published in the ROSSYIA weekly, which is close to Boris Yeltsin. For having revealed this fact, Mr. Krol immediately fired Mr. Gontarski of WPROST, a former correspondent in Moscow. This is a digression. Coming back to your question, Mr. Marek Krol and his magazine are creatively participating in something I would call a free market of UOP operational materials. It happened that it backfired on one of the coauthors of this pathology. Well, he who lives by the sword shall die by the sword. I think that, in the present situation, Mr. Krol may be personally interested in President Kwasniewski's initiative to make the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MSW] and UOP archives open (excluding those of counterintelligence). Without it, he does not have any chance to be cleared of charges, similarly as people accused by him. He may eventually win a case in a court of law for infringement of personal rights, but he will not clear himself. Obviously, I am far from being happy about it. A country where anybody can slander anybody is not a country of my dreams.

[Burczyk] A moment ago, you mentioned President Kwasniewski's initiative to open up the MSW archives. It does not enjoy a good reputation with the opposition. Jan Olszewski in strong words said that the president's proposal was designed to protect SLD interests and was an attempt to distract attention from the charges made against Prime Minister Oleksy and SdRP activists.

[Szmajdzinski] This is a groundless charge. First, it takes a long time before an idea is conceived, a law is passed, and an appropriate office or committee is set up. Why should one talk about distracting attention from Oleksy? Second, the objective of this initiative is not to cover some people and uncover others. The point is that the MSW and UOP archive materials should cease to be a tool of political struggle, pulled out like a rabbit from a hat when someone has his own political interest in it. Obviously, it can be safeguarded only by an office that is fully independent, apolitical, nonpartisan, impartial, and exclusively oriented toward serving the state.

Poland: Walesa Not To Return to Shipyard

WS1202115796 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 9 Feb 96 p 2

[Article by Agnieszka Kublik in Warsaw, Robert Szulc in Gdansk, and Joanna Banas and Wojciech Gegotek in Zieleniec: "The Former President's Plans; Walesa Has Chosen Politics"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] *"Lech Walesa will not return to the shipyard," we have learned from Andrzej Zakrzewski, former minister of state at the Presidential Chancellery. "Walesa has chosen politics," he said.* [passage omitted]

On 12 February he will be on duty at the Gdansk headquarters of Solidarity as the trade union's consultant. He will see customers in a new, more spacious office. He now has four rooms at his disposal (previously he had two).

"We wanted to adapt the office to actual needs," says Ludwika Kaczorowska, Lech Walesa's secretary. "The office was always crowded, although neither the president nor his security ever complained."

One of the new rooms will be used by the Government Security officers, and the other will serve as a waiting room. Brown wall-to-wall carpeting has already been laid in Walesa's office; ebony-colored furniture and the president's leather chair are expected to arrive today.

Walesa already has an institute in the center of Warsaw, where each week he spends two days packed with meetings with politicians from the opposition.

The former president intends to accept several invitations to give speeches abroad. In March he will visit Denmark and Sweden. The Scandinavians want to hear Walesa's opinion of current developments in Europe and Poland. In April, he is to deliver a series of speeches in the United States. It is difficult to assess how much Walesa will earn on his speeches. Former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher received $60,000 for her speeches from the same host organizations that have invited Walesa.

The former president might get a monthly pension. Two competitive projects on the issue were submitted to the Sejm last week. According to the Freedom Union, the Union of Labor, and the Confederation for an Independent Poland, [former] presidents elected in general elections (thus far only Walesa) would be given the title of senator for life and receive an allowance of 3,300 zlotys [Z]. The Democratic Left Alliance has suggested that all former presidents (including General Wojciech Jaruzelski, who was elected by the

General Assembly) receive a regular monthly pension of approximately Z3,800.

"If the Sejm passes a resolution," says Zakrzewski, "Walesa could support the institute in Warsaw and would very willingly set up his own office in Gdansk." [passage omitted]

A poll carried out by the Social Research Laboratory for RZECZPOSPOLITA at the end of January claims that as many as one-half of Poles see Walesa's announcement of returning to the shipyard as a political demonstration. One in five maintains that this is a result of the former president's unclear status. A mere 8 percent would see such a decision to be caused by the necessity of supporting a family.

Romania: Hungarian Official Wants Accord for Minorities

LD1002213996 Budapest Duna TV in Hungarian 1700 GMT 10 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] [Foreign Affairs State Secretary] Istvan Szent-Ivanyi has held talks about Romanian-Hungarian reconciliation and the principle issues of the basic treaty with Foreign Minister Melescanu and Foreign Affairs State Secretary Marcel Dinu in Bucharest. Szent-Ivanyi was accompanied by Gabor Gellert Kiss, chairman of parliament's Human Rights Committee, and by Zsolt Nemeth, deputy chairman of the Federation of Young Democrats-Hungarian Civic Party, at a conference entitled Romanian-Hungarian Partnership in the Process of Euro-Atlantic Integration.

[Reporter Tibor Bogdan—identified by screen caption] Istvan Szent-Ivanyi told the Duna TV correspondent that he emphasized Hungary wants to make a good basic treaty. As far as historic reconciliation is concerned, it considers confidence-building measures, such as opening consulates and reopening the Hungarian university, to be important. To this end, the Romanian Government and the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR] should seek opportunities for dialogue. His partners agreed that the system of relations between the two countries should develop independently of the talks.

He was of the view that no significant document on the regulation of minority rights will be created in the near future and, therefore, the situation of the minorities can be settled in the most effective way on the basis of an agreement between the majority and minority groups of the populace.

Romania: UDMR Sets Conditions for Cooperation

LD1102211196 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1800 GMT 11 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR] also has its own firm conditions for cooperation with other parties—said UDMR Chairman Bela Marko in an interview.

Bela Marko spoke in connection with the fact that, a few days ago, the senior Romanian Government coalition party [the Social Democracy Party of Romania, PDSR] had set strict conditions for a possible government cooperation with the UDMR.

Bela Marko confirmed that his party was ready to conclude an alliance with any forces who want real democracy with appropriate guarantees and who seek a proper solution for the problems of the Hungarian minority.

Romania: USD Appeal on Reconciliation With Hungary

96P20267A Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 19 Jan 96 p 9

[Article by Virgil Lazar: "Statement-Appeal on a Historic Reconciliation Between Romania and Hungary"]

[FBIS Translated Text] At a meeting in Cluj marking the establishment of the Social Democratic Union [USD]—the political alliance between the PD [Democratic Party] and the PSDR [Social Democratic Party of Romania]—[PD Deputy Chairman] Adrian Severin read the Declaration-Appeal on the Historic Reconciliation Between Romania and Hungary. He did this, "aware that historic destiny has placed Romania and Hungary in a situation in which they can each represent for the other a natural ally, a necessary partner, and a real friend."

The Statement-Appeal is based on the conviction that the tensions accumulated between the two countries over the years must be superceded and that this is the moment for the wounds that were once open to be forgotten. Also, the Statement-Appeal has in mind the fact that the existence of an ethnic Romanian minority in Hungary and an ethnic Hungarian minority in Romania can and must serve as a bridge between the two countries, not a cause for division, tensions, and problems.

The Statement-Appeal calls upon all democratic political forces in Romania and Hungary and all true patriots who wish well for both countries in a united Europe to convince the governments and parliaments of the two countries to establish a historic partnership and reconciliation, starting with the adoption of a set of 12 measures, including: the signing of a basic treaty between Romania and Hungary, by which the two countries would guarantee each other's borders; an intergovernmental agreement on the status of minorities in the two countries on the basis of international principles and standards; a 10-year moratorium on public discussion of any issues dealing with historical litigations, so that tensions that arise exclusively from the past can be eliminated; the establishment of a joint Romanian-Hungarian commission for the purpose of drafting a treatise on disputed moments in history; a joint, intergovernmental committee for the purpose of establishing integrated strategic guidelines for economic development, with a view to membership in the European Union; a Romanian-Hungarian customs union; a Romanian-Hungarian payments union; an agreement for cross-border cooperation between the two countries; a joint military commission that will initiate measures and programs for cooperation in this area; a common group of the central banks of Romania and Hungary, for the purpose of coordination in the monetary and credit areas, etc.

The Statement-Appeal, which was received with great enthusiasm by the more than 2,000 Romanians and Hungarians present in Professors' Palace, was signed by [PD Chairman] Petre Roman and [PSDR Chairman] Sergiu Cunescu.

Federal

FRY: Bulatovic, Grachev Issue Joint Statement

LD0902153196 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1337 GMT 9 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 9 Feb (TANJUG)—The defense ministers of Russia and Yugoslavia issued a joint statement today at the end of the Russian minister's official visit to the FRY. The statement says:

Russian Defense Minister Army General Pavel Grachev paid an official visit to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] 8-9 February 1996 at the invitation of [Yugoslav] Federal Defense Minister Pavle Bulatovic. During his visit the Russian Federation defense minister was received by FRY President Zoran Lilic; Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic; and Montenegrin President Momir Bulatovic. Minister Grachev also had talks with Colonel-General Momcilo Perisic, chief of General Staff of the Yugoslav Army.

Pavel Grachev and Pavle Bulatovic exchanged views on the military and political situation in the Balkans, stressing that the activities of the FRY and the Russian Federation aimed at consistent implementation of the Dayton Agreement should be coordinated.

Defense Minister Pavel Grachev confirmed that Russia will continue its efforts to do everything it can so that the Balkan peoples can overcome the consequences of the war and establish peaceful life in the region through their own efforts. He said he hopes that the FRY will become a full member of all international organizations very soon.

Pavle Bulatovic expressed his gratitude to the Russian Federation for its principled stand on the peaceful settling of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia. The ministers agreed that strict adherence to and implementation of all agreements is in the interest of all sides in the conflict.

The meeting between Ministers Pavle Bulatovic and Pavel Grachev is a continuation of contacts initiated in Moscow in February last year. The main aim of this cooperation is to further develop bilateral relations between the Russian Federation and the FRY in the military and military-technical spheres in order to ensure security in the region. They agreed that it is necessary to further develop and strengthen these relations at a qualitatively new level. The two sides said they are prepared to begin contacts between the military departments of the two countries and to organize closer cooperation between their general staffs, in line with the plan of bilateral cooperation for 1996 which was signed during the visit.

FRY: Army Chief, Russia's Grachev Discuss Obligations

LD0902134196 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1320 GMT 9 Feb 96

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Feb. 9 (TANJUG)—Chief of the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army Col.-Gen. Momcilo Perisic and Russian Defence Minister Pavel Grachev noted here on Friday that the Yugoslav army and Russian armed forces had consistently met obligations in the implementation of the peace agreement for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Perisic and Grachev conferred on the military and security situation in the former Yugoslavia and the wider region of the Balkans. Special attention was devoted to the implementation of the peace agreement for Bosnia and threats to the peace process, the press office of the General Staff of the Yugoslav army said in a statement.

Perisic and Grachev discussed a number of issues related to inter-army relations and urged an intensification of cooperation, the statement said.

Grachev arrived in Belgrade on Thursday at the head of a Russian defence ministry delegation.

FRY: Grachev, Bulatovic Discuss NATO, Bosnia

LD0902193796 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 9 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade, 9 Feb (TANJUG)—Before the end of the Russian defense minister's visit to Yugoslavia, General Pavel Grachev and his host, Yugoslav Defense Minister Pavle Bulatovic, said at a news conference in Belgrade that the visit was successful and that it took place in an atmosphere of trust and openness. [passage omitted]

Grachev said that issues relevant to the Partnership for Peace initiative were discussed, as well as NATO's eastward expansion. He stressed that Russia advocates the extension of the Partnership for Peace initiative, in the course of which this cooperation should be carried out on an equal basis, and it should not harm the interests and the dignity of any state.

As for NATO's expansion eastward, Russia's stance is still firmly "against the expansion of the Western military alliance, even if it is at the expense of only one state."

Grachev believes that as long as NATO is a military and political bloc, "issues of European stability cannot be solved only by political means, which is why the issue of security in Europe should at this point be entrusted to the OSCE."

He added that Russia favors efforts to convince its western partners by diplomatic and political means not to expand NATO eastward, "although it is a natural question whether they will understand us or not, and whether they will deal with the issue of NATO's further expansion without us."

"If they fail to understand us, Russia can do nothing other than take adequate measures for its own security. The first measure is the possibility of searching for new allies in eastern and central Europe and among the member states of the CIS, with the view to forming a new military alliance. Another measure is a considerable strengthening of Russian military might, and the revision or suspension of further cooperation within the START agreement. The third one is seeking a closer partnership with eastern countries," Grachev specified.

Answering a question on the results on the recent conference in Munich and statements by the U.S. secretary of defense, Grachev said the Russian stance on NATO's further expansion eastward is at odds with U.S. Secretary of Defense William Perry's views.

According to Grachev, Perry does not intend to work on the expansion of NATO in the coming years, although, from the strategic point of view, he does have such intentions in the long run.

"But we do not make a tragedy out of this. It is up to diplomats and negotiators to discuss this," the Russian minister added.

In connection with the abduction of the Serb officers and soldiers in Bosnia, the Russian defense minister reiterated Russia's stance that it regrets that unjust incident and the arrest of a group of Serb officers who were going to negotiations.

Grachev believes that this could lead to a serious complication of the situation and hamper peaceful agreements in Bosnia.

"The peace process is progressing with difficulties even without this, which is why no one should take actions that could undermine the whole process," the Russian minister said.

He also said that Russia has already taken concrete steps and that this issue "will be raised at a forthcoming meeting between Christopher and Primakov, the U.S. secretary of state and the Russian foreign minister. I have already raised this issue with the command of the international forces [IFOR] and with General Joulwan during my visit to Bosnia."

A solution to the abduction of the Serb officers will also be sought through the Red Cross, Grachev added. Russian President Yeltsin has also been informed.

"I believe all this will be enough to solve the explosive situation", the Russian defense minister said. [passage omitted]

Yugoslav Defense Minister Pavle Bulatovic said that talks dealt with important issues concerning relations between the defense ministries and armies of the two countries. The talks in Belgrade are a continuation of relations between the two ministries which were not suspended even during the period of sanctions.

The lifting of sanctions created formal conditions for continuing and improving the military cooperation, which was made official by an agreement signed a year ago, Bulatovic added.

"Military cooperation, the Yugoslav minister said, can be realized only between countries which have no differences regarding security issues."

Answering a question on the content of the plan for cooperation this year, signed by the two ministers in Belgrade, Bulatovic said that it will stipulate the work of a joint commission of the two ministries and that it covers overall cooperation in the military-political and military-technical sphere, as well as in the sphere of research.

The Yugoslav minister also said that in talks with his guest from Russia various issues concerning the Partnership for Peace initiative were discussed. He added that "NATO and the Partnership for Peace initiative are a reality in Europe in the political, economic, and military sense. Our country, however, does not have a definitive stance yet whether we will join this military alliance or not."

"For us the first and decisive issue is that of the reintegration of Yugoslavia into international political, economic, and monetary institutions. Only then can we discuss military cooperation and the possibility of joining military alliances. In this respect, we can see no special reason to rush," the Yugoslav minister said in conclusion.

FRY: Lilic, Russian Defense Minister Hold Talks

LD0902184996 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1505 GMT 9 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 9 Feb (TANJUG)—Zoran Lilic, president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] and president of the Supreme Defense Council, today received Army General Pavel Grachev, defense minister of the Russian Federation, who is on an official visit to our country.

The FRY president's general secretariat has announced that during friendly and direct talks both sides agreed that the eminent guest's visit was a confirmation of the already proven friendship, and an impetus for the further strengthening and development of versatile relations between the two countries and two nations.

Attention was focused on the process of implementing the peace agreement on Bosnia. General Grachev stressed that he had just had an opportunity to see personally and at close quarters that the situation in Bosnia is not at all easy or simple, despite the fact that the agreement was signed and has started being implemented. In his opinion, not all sides are fulfilling their obligations at the same speed, but the Serb side has fully complied with its obligations.

Among shortcomings hindering a more successful implementation of the Dayton Agreement General Grachev included difficulties with Mostar and Sarajevo, insufficient humanitarian aid and insufficiently prepared conditions for the return of refugees. He put special emphasis on certain negative incidents, such as the arrest of the officers of the Serb Republic army, which he described as a direct violation of the Dayton Agreement. The Russian defense minister also stressed the delay in the lifting of sanctions against the Serb Republic, although all conditions for it have been met.

President Lilic and General Grachev spoke in favor of the peace agreement being implemented literally, point by point, as they said, without any additional or subsequent interpretations. They said they hoped that under such conditions the operations undertaken can contribute to the definitive solution of the crisis.

President Lilic said that the war in Bosnia broke out, lasted so long, and was so destructive, because the stance toward all three sides has not been the same. In the same way, a lasting and stable peace cannot be established unless all sides are treated in the same manner, as envisaged by the Dayton Agreement, President Lilic said in conclusion.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has fulfilled all its obligations in this respect. It can be a guarantor of peace if the necessary conditions are created: its full reintegration in international political and financial institutions, the economic recovery of the country and the strengthening of the social stability.

The responsibility is on the international community players who have contributed to the Accord being agreed on under very clear conditions and who are the guarantors that these conditions will now be implemented.

In the peace process, as well as in the implementation of the Peace agreement, the Russian Federatian has had a prominent place and that is the reason why we highly value President Yeltsin and the Russian leaders' readiness to commit themselves to conscientious implementation of what has been agreed and to the achievement of unbiased relations between peace forces [as received] themselves and the whole international community, President Lilic said.

President Lilic and General Grachev both expressed satisfaction that this important visit has contributed to the further development of scientific and technical cooperation, especially in the sphere of military industry, as well as to the broadening of economic cooperation in mutual interest.

Present at the talks from the Yugoslav side were Pavle Bulatovic, federal minister of defense; Colonel General Momcilo Perisic, chief of the general staff of the Yugoslav Army; and Zivadin Jovanovic, assistant to the federal minister for foreign affairs. From the Russian side were Deputy Foreign Minister Nikolay Atanasievski and Charge d'Affaires in Belgrade Aleksandr Tolkac.

FRY: Sainovic, Russian Minister Discuss Cooperation

LD1102211896 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2054 GMT 11 Feb 96

["Ecopool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Feb. 11 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Deputy Premier and Minister for Energy Nikola Sainovic discussed here on Sunday [11 February] with Russian Minister for Fuel and Energy Yuriy Shafranik long-term bilateral cooperation in the field of energy.

Shafranik, who on Sunday arrived for a two-day visit to Yugoslavia with a group of associates and experts, examined with his host possibilities for work on concrete projects of development, production, the transport and marketing of liquid fuels, gas, electric power and coal, and the exchange of goods.

Talks will continue on Monday, said a statement issued by the Yugoslav Information Ministry.

FRY: Bulgaria's Videnov Optimistic on FRY Relations

AU1102182496 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 11 Feb 96

[Interview with Bulgarian Prime Minister Zhan Videnov by Dusan Djordjevic, editor in chief of Radio Belgrade First Program in Sofia; date not given; Videnov speaks in Bulgarian with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Djordjevic] Prime Minister, thank you very much for finding time to receive us and to answer our questions about the perspectives and [words indistinct] between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] and (?Bulgaria). A little over a year ago, you formed the (?leftist) government. Has anything changed—and what precisely—in the Republic of Bulgaria's policy when your party won the elections and formed the government. If so, how did these changes reflect on the situation?

[Videnov] Our government of the democratic left has been working for a year now. The main changes that were our objectives and which we have strived to accomplish in the past period focused on the political and social sphere. We have stopped the destruction of entire branches of Bulgarian economy, and the trend of giving an ideological background to the country's economic problems. Moreover, we have strived to guarantee stable economic development, increase employment, and create a more dignified image of Bulgarian economy in contemporary, European and international economic trends. In this respect, we have accomplished positive results in the past year. We are happiest with the fact that stable economic growth has been recorded for the first time ever, that we have stopped the decrease of real incomes which was the case in the past five years. In foreign policy we have tried to carry on with continuity, a principled stance, and reliability. At the same time, we have tried to find a balance by activating relations with traditional and new partners, with close and far away countries in the east and west, so that Bulgaria may be ready for the Balkans and Europe in the next century. We hope that good relations with everyone, and our contribution to integration processes will be decisive. Of course, there are conflicts here, both in Bulgaria, the Balkans, and in Europe, but it is a fact that the future will prove the validity of this approach.

[Djordjevic] When it comes to conflicts and problems, you probably have [words indistinct] in economic development [words indistinct] ownership structure, that is, ownership relations in the economies of former socialist countries?

[Videnov] I believe that this, too, had been a (?natural) process in eastern and central Europe, including the Balkans. They became aware of the need for change, but not such that would be a goal in itself, but one that would be in the name of new prosperity, a new living standard, and a more dignified place in many economic realities in Europe and the world. This called for a new type of administration; the leftist forces put this in a program and presented it to society, and society in turn trusted them to implement it. It is not true that only social difficulties and nostalgia for the past are at the bases of this trust. There is a will to change, a will based on historical experience. In the past decades and years such experience was both positive and negative. The social will will lead us into the next century. It is obvious that we, the leftist forces in the Balkans, will be the promoters of this social factor and reality in east and central Europe.

[Djordjevic] Prime Minister, following the surge of rightist forces on the political scene in former socialist countries, new elections have reinstated leftist forces. What is the reason for the return of leftist forces in these countries?

[Videnov] I believe that the operative term here is realism, breaking free from unfulfilled illusions, catching up with contemporary realities and the world in all its complexity. Our societies have become aware of all this in the past few years, very quickly in fact. Of course, we still need a lot of time to develop our new world views and pinpoint our place in the world. However, these are the factors that in my opinion explain the phenomenon.

[Djordjevic] Therefore, this is not a new mask for old relations?

[Videnov] No, absolutely not. I am convinced that what is at work here is a synthesis in social conscience; it is about people, their comprehension of the world in which they would like to live in the future, and their comprehension of the dangers that they do not want.

[Djordjevic] Your (?country) cultivates a positive stance toward the crisis in the region of the former Yugoslavia. Could you tell us your view of the perspective of FRY-Bulgarian relations keeping in mind that sanctions have been suspended, and that your government was one of the first to do so?

[Videnov] Relations between our two countries truly are of great significance for the Balkans and Europe, and the Mediterranean region where important integration processes are in progress. In my opinion, bilateral relations have a very good perspective. That will be realized in full once the sanctions are lifted, which will happen in the near future. I personally have no doubt about that.

First, a more intense political dialogue will develop between our two countries regarding the future of the Balkans, on security and stability in this part of Europe and the continent in general, and on finding ways for a more active participation in global processes.

Second, we have very important economic issues, substantial mutual interests, direct links between economic factors which in my opinion will lead to speedy and significant results in the coming months and years. Moreover, we have never severed—nor can we sever—general human contacts, cultural contacts between our two countries. The period following the lifting of sanctions will present us with the chance to express our countries' comprehensive potential. (Words indistinct) mutual goodwill for their development, which means that the perspective is very good. As regards the general situation in the Balkans, the Mediterranean, and Europe, I expect these relations will be positive and conducive to such developments. [passage omitted]

[Djordjevic] It is clear that we are closer to what you are saying than we were before?

[Videnov] Yes, we are. No matter how paradoxical it may seem, it is true. I believe that the Balkans have been given the chance to prove itself, to achieve a higher level precisely through those properties which in the past created problems and gave us an infamous reputation.

[Djordjevic] Prime Minister, at one point in the interview, you addressed cooperation between Bulgaria and the FRY. You are due on an official visit to Prime Minister Radoje Kontic. It is clear that both countries are interested in economic and all other types of cooperation. The FRY attaches great importance to cooperation with Bulgaria, particularly a varied cooperation, not only economic, but also political, cultural, sports, and other cooperation. That is why I would like to ask you what you, as prime minister of Bulgaria, consider to be the greatest priority?

[Videnov] I believe that the greatest priority and significance lies in the revival of a general Balkan dialogue, and the overcoming of all obstacles between Balkan countries, neighbors. We need to draft a joint agenda on economic, social, and cultural issues, as well as goals which would definitely solve conflicts regarding borders, territories, ethnic and religious groups, cultural heritage, language, religion, and so forth. If we achieve this, we shall be able to claim that as politicians, we have been able to close a page of the region's history, a very interesting one, but one that belongs in history books, and that we have initiated the development of a new history in the Balkans, one that will be less interesting but hopefully more successful and dignified for the generations to follow.

[Djordjevic] Thank you, Mr. Videnov on behalf of Radio Belgrade listeners for this interview.

FRY: Bulgarian PM Hails Milosevic Role in Peace

AU1002200996 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 10 Feb 96

[Interview with Bulgarian Prime Minister Zhan Videnov by Dusan Djordjevic, editor in chief of Radio Belgrade First Program, in Sofia; date not given; Videnov speaks in Bulgarian with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Videnov] I believe that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, its leadership, and President Milosevic were the main factors responsible for the achievement of the Dayton agreement. Moreover, these factors are to a great extent responsible for the stability of peace, a gradual transference to postconflict development where other tasks will become topical in our countries, in the Balkans, and Europe in general.

I would assess very highly the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia's [FRY] contribution, and I am certain that it will remain so in the future. This is one of the reasons why we in Bulgaria are expecting a stabilization of the region, the revival of the general Balkan process, and economic development; moreover, the dangers of diverse conflicts will finally be a part of the past. [Djordjevic] Prime Minister, the Balkans have heretofore been a region in which nations were more engaged in conflicts, wars, and arguments than in cooperation. How would you today assess the situation in the Balkans and how do you see the development of Balkan cooperation?

[Videnov] The most important thing for the Balkans at the moment is the stabilization of the peace process. This means equal treatment of all sides in the recent conflict, and restraint on the part of all Balkan countries so as not to burden the process with additional problems. Moreover, it also means participation in the international community's peace efforts, in accordance with each country's abilities. I believe that we have to look to the future. A general Balkan dialogue needs to be reestablished. I recently proposed a meeting in Sofia between foreign ministers as planned back in 1990. We should be developing ties not only in the Balkans and the Black Sea region, but also with Central Europe because a united Europe will expect us to come up with such initiatives. Finally, it is time to think about a communication infrastructure which will not only save the newly-formed states from isolation in the Balkans, but will also stabilize the peace process, and at the same time prove our significance for an integrated Europe. If all the Balkan countries concentrate efforts in these three directions, I am convinced that our postconflict development will soon elevate us to the level of the highest European standards and that we will be worthy participants in general European movements. We have a right to this because of our complicated and dramatic history in the past millennium.

FRY: Bulgarian PM, Kontic View Forthcoming Talks

LD1202122596 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1115 GMT 12 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade, 12 Feb (TANJUG)—The progress of the peace process in the Balkans creates conditions for a comprehensive development of relations between the two countries, Bulgarian Prime Minister Zhan Videnov told journalists at the airport in Belgrade, at the start of his two-day offical visit to the FRY. Videnov expressed his satisfaction at the realization of this visit, the first of a Bulgarian prime minister to the FRY.

"I am glad that within the program are visits to Serbia and Montenegro and contacts with main state institutions. We believe that the progress of the peace process in the Balkans creates conditions for the development of comprehensive relations between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. I hope this visit wil give an impetus for the development of relations in the political and economic spheres as well as in the sphere of culture," Videnov said. [passage omitted]

Kontic said that three groups of issues will dominate in the talks with Videnov. The first group of issues covers the development of bilateral cooperation.

"We believe it is necessary to continue with the creation of institutional conditions for renewal and widening of that cooperation. I am convinced that we could quickly achieve the level of cooperation we enjoyed before the sanctions, when we had $250 million of exchange annually in both directions," Kontic said.

"We will also seriously discuss the Yugoslav crisis and the implementation of the peace agreements. I think that Bulgaria had a principled stance on the Yugoslav crisis, especially Prime Minister Videnov personally. Bulgaria pursued a policy of active neutrality, and we particularly appreciate its decision to send 450 men to join IFOR [Implementation Force]," the federal prime minister said. [passage omitted]

"Finally, we will certainly pay due attention to cooperation in the Balkans. We support Bulgaria's idea of creating a free trade zone in the region. I am convinced that this visit by the Bulgarian prime minister will result not only in renewing earlier relations, but also in extending them, and in a new phase of dynamic cooperation between the two countries," the Yugoslav prime minister said.

Kontic and Videnov went from the airport to the Palace of the Federation, where the first official Bulgarian-Yugoslav talks have begun. [passage omitted]

The Bulgarian prime minister will today be received by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and Radoman Bozovic, the president of the Chamber of Citizens of the Federal Assembly.

FRY: Cooperation With Italy Renewed

LD1202115296 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1102 GMT 12 Feb 96

["Ecopool" item by Ljupka Milovanovic]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Rome, Feb 12 (TANJUG)—Italy and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia have renewed cooperation at the institutional level after recent talks between an Italian government delegation and top-level Yugoslav politicians and businessmen in Belgrade, political and economic circles said in Rome.

Italy maintains that the institutional level is very important because it will allow the two countries to achieve the desired volume of cooperation and channel it into the wanted directions.

Italy had already paved the way for such forms of institutional cooperation. In December last year, Italy decided that the Yugoslav airlines should have six flights to Italy instead of three, including two weekly flights to Milan. Milan, Italy's big industrial, business and financial centre, accounts for over 70 percent of trade exchange with Yugoslavia.

Late last year, the Italian Government lifted the trade embargo against Yugoslavia which was a clear indication that the two countries could renew economic cooperation. Italy, the second trading partner of the former Yugoslavia is endeavouring to renew intensive cooperation with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, whose participation in the former trade exchange with Italy acounted for 60 percent. Both countries wish to upgrade cooperation given their geographical vicinity and that their economies are complementary. They will cooperate in the field of agriculture and industry (car industry, wood and textile), finances, science, sports and culture.

Experts in Italian-Yugoslav economic relations have said that Rome was interested in importing aluminium, wood, raw leather from Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia's exports of meat to Italy are still limited by the European Union. Yugoslavia will probably import computers, ready-made, footwear, home and industrial equipment from Italy.

The modernization of the Yugoslav economy with the help of Italian technology is also an important form of cooperation. Both countries also wish to cooperate in the field of transport and tourism. The two countries also want to promote joint marketing on third markets, for instance in Russia and Ukraine.

In order to boost cooperation it is necessary to settle the issue of a 325 million-dollar credit granted to the former Yugoslavia and which was not realized because of the introduction of the sanctions. The payment operations have not been restored between the two countries and Yugoslav accounts in Italian banks have not been unfrozen. Rome explains that by the fact that succession to the former Yugoslavia has not been settled among the newly-emerged states. Italy, which currently holds the EU presidency, will probably renew its payment operations with Yugoslavia after a decision on the matter by the European Union.

FRY: Deputy FM Expects Normalized EU Ties Soon

LD1002175196 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1645 GMT 10 Feb 96

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Novi Sad, Feb 10 (TANJUG)—The deputy foreign minister of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Radoslav Bulajic said that the normalization of relations with European Union member-states was a question of days or weeks.

In an interview published Sunday by Novi Sad daily DNEVNIK, Bulajic listed among Yugoslavia's foreign policy priorities a lasting and stable peace in the region, full lifting of international sanctions against Belgrade, normalization of relations with former Yugoslav republics and Yugoslavia's full reintegration in world political, financial and trade organizations and institutions.

Yugoslavia has fully honored all its commitments under the Dayton peace agreement, and latest reports show that Republika Srpska (Serb entity in Bosnia-Herzegovina) also cooperates fully, Bulajic underlined.

Bulajic described the arrest of R.S. army officers as a direct blow to the implementation of the agreement concluded last November in Ohio.

The recent visit of the U.S. secretary of state Warren Christopher to Belgrade and his talks with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and Yugoslav Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic have contributed to the improvement of bilateral relations, Bulajic said.

The reactivating of the U.S. cultural and information center in Belgrade and the opening of new ones in Pristina, chief town of Serbia's southern province of Kosovo and Metohija, in Montenegrin capital Podgorica and in Novi Sad, chief town of Serbia's northern province of Vojvodina, should be considered as a contribution to the promotion of overall bilateral relations, Bulajic said.

Yugoslavia will reopen its consulates and centers in Washington, New York and other U.S. cities with Yugoslav emigrant communities, he said.

Asked whether the establishment of full diplomatic relations with U.S. and E.U. members was made dependent on specific conditions, Bulajic answered he thought that international community and especially its prominent members had finally understood that there can be no lasting and just peace, stability, cooperation or progress in the territory of the former Yugoslavia and the Balkans without the participation of Federal Republic of Yugoslavia as a full member of all international organizations and institutions.

The European Union insists only on mutual recognition between FRY and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, he added.

As regards the normalization of relations with former Yugoslav Federation members, some positive steps have been taken to accelerate the finding of mutually acceptable formulas, Bulajic said.

Asked whether FRY was considering joining Partnership For Peace, Bulajic said Europe was seeking a model for peace, greater security, rapid development and full integration. If PFP is part of such a process, and we believe it is, than Yugoslavia—whose future and fate are tied to united Europe—should have a place in this association, Bulajic said.

FRY: Spanish Envoy Says EU Favors Recognizing FRY

LD1102172896 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1542 GMT 11 Feb 96

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Kragujevac, Feb 11 (TANJUG)—The joint stance of the European Union is that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia should be reintegrated in the international community as soon as possible, the Charge D'Affaires of the Spanish Embassy in Belgrade Jose Antonio Bordallo said Sunday [11 February].

The only condition for this reintegration is mutual recognition between Belgrade and Skoplje, he told local Radio Kragujevac, describing as speculations the media reports on a division among E.U. ministers over this issue during their meeting in Brussels.

The stance of Yugoslav and Serbian authorities was decisive for the creation of a new and positive atmosphere which has led to peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the signing of the Dayton-Paris agreement. This is highly appreciated by the international community and E.U., Bordallo said.

This is why each E.U. member-state will individually recognize Federal Republic of Yugoslavia immediately after a mutual recognition between FRY and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Bordallo said.

FRY: Slovene Official on Normalizing Economic Ties

LD1102173296 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1608 GMT 11 Feb 96

["Ecopool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Feb 11 (TANJUG)—The Secretary-General of Slovenia's Chamber of Economy Francka Gabron told TANJUG in Belgrade that economic relations between Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Slovenia could be normalized in a few months.

Slovenia seceded from the former Yugoslav federation in 1991.

Gabron is visiting Belgrade with a delegation of Iskra holding company from Ljubljana, sponsor of an exhibition of Slovenian sculptor Andrej Ajdic in Belgrade.

The two countries should endeavor to sign bilateral agreements as soon as possible, especially in the fields of economic cooperation, investment protection and avoidance of double taxation, she said.

She also advocated the creation of a free trade zone and other forms of cooperation including the creation of mixed companies and joint market ventures in third countries.

Slovenian Chamber of Economy will work for the restoration of traffic between the two countries and will uphold the establishment of economic contacts in all fields of joint interest, Gabron said.

FRY: Hungarian Party Urges Upgrade of Relations

LD1002152996 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1401 GMT 10 Feb 96

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Novi Sad, Yugoslavia, Feb. 10 (TANJUG)—President of the Hungarian Workers' Party Gyula Thuirmer has said his party urges that Budapest immediately upgrade diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia to the embassy level.

The party also calls for highest-level contacts, Thuirmer said at a panel discussion on relations between Hungary and Yugoslavia held in Novi Sad, centre of Serbia's northern province of Vojvodina, late on Friday.

Thuirmer headed a party delegation that ended its visit to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Federation of Serbia and Montenegro) after visiting Novi Sad. The party visited the country at the invitation of the Yugoslav United Left Party.

Thuirmer said Hungary should help Yugoslavia reintegrate into the system of international relations.

If it fails to do so, there is no chance of Hungarian companies taking part in the economic recovery of the Balkans or making big investements in Yugoslavia, he said.

Thuirmer said relations between Hungary and Yugoslavia and the position of Vojvodina's ethnic Hungarians, who are the most numerous national minority in the province, would not improve if his country joined NATO, but only if it declared its permanent neutrality.

He also said he had met with ranking Yugoslav and Serbian officials during his visit.

He said the delegation had expressed support for Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic's peace policy and had expressed wishes for a successful development of the Yugoslav economy.

He said his party opposed attempts to change borders in Europe, urged friendship between the Hungarian and Yugoslav peoples and took the view that Hungary could help ethnic Hungarians in Vojvodina only through promotion of bilateral relations with Yugoslavia.

Zivko Sokolovacki, member of the Yugoslav United Left directorate and the party's coordinator for Vojvodina, said his party paid special attention to inter-ethnic relations as well as to relations with neighbouring countries.

He said the Hungarian Workers' Party had adopted an unbiased position towards the crisis in the former

Yugoslavia from the very outset and had fully backed Yugoslavia.

FRY: Bank Governor on 'Catastrophe' Over Food Costs

AU0902120096 Bad Vilbel VESTI in Serbo-Croatian 9 Feb 96 p 8

[Unattributed report: "We Are Facing Catastrophe"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yugoslav National Bank Governor Dragoslav Avramovic said yesterday that the central Yugoslav issue at the moment was privatization, and that the importance of this issue was increasing by the hour.

"I do not know what privatization will bring us, but this present system cannot be maintained," Avramovic said at the seminar "Current Approaches to Privatization in the FRY" that was organized in Novi Sad by the Reform Democratic Party of Vojvodina.

According to Governor Avramovic, there is absolutely no hope of any flow of foreign capital into the FRY until privatization has been carried out.

He also said that all the Yugoslav reforms "failed on structural factors."

The Yugoslav economy is now "under the dictate of managers," Avramovic said. "They are behaving like gods since they are not accountable to anybody. This is the first such case in history," Avramovic added.

He labelled the current rise in the prices of industrial products as "brutal." "If the prices of agricultural goods explode, it will be a catastrophe," the governor said.

FRY: Bank Chief Says Privatization Inevitable

LD0902120596 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1120 GMT 9 Feb 96

["Ecopool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Novi Sad, Feb 9 (TANJUG)—The governor of the Yugoslav National Bank, Dragoslav Avramovic, has said that privatization in Yugoslavia was necessary and inevitable and that there would be no inflow of foreign capital without privatization.

Avramovic, who was addressing a Yugoslav meeting on privatization in Yugoslavia held in Novi Sad, a city in the northern Serbian province of Vojvodina, said that it was unacceptable to maintain the existing system.

All foreigners who come to Yugoslavia first want to know which model of privatization has been chosen before deciding to invest capital. There will be no inflow of capital if these issues are not resolved soon, Avramovic noted.

The author of the Yugoslav economic reforms warned that the issue of big infrastructure systems, such as electric power industry and railway, should be urgently resolved. These sectors cannot avoid a catastrophe if they have to endure low prices and the 'wear and tear' of their systems.

Avramovic said that a decision should be adopted on the model of privatization and that a good option would be to give half of shares to workers and pensioners and to sell the remaining capital of enterprises.

A distribution of shares to workers and pension funds would avert a possible social catastrophe, Avramovic said.

He said that a prompt privatization was necessary for Yugoslavia's cooperation with international financial institutions.

Speaking about the existing economic system in Yugoslavia, Avramovic said that managers were in command and that there were no shareholders to supervise them.

Today, managers are like gods and this is a great period for them, Avramovic said.

We have various models of privatization and it is crucial to promptly apply the adequate one.

The most important is to create a capital market, abandon the monopolistic structure and meet the needs of the working class so as to avoid conflicts.

Serbia

Serbia: Milosevic-Holbrooke Talks End

LD1102232196 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2248 GMT 11 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 11 February (TANJUG)—The president of the Republic, Slobodan Milosevic, received Richard Holbrooke, U.S. assistant secretary of state, head of the American delegation which arrived in Belgrade this evening.

They discussed current issues regarding the implementation of the Bosnian peace plan and attention was particularly devoted to the necessary steps which should be carried out in the interest of securing consistent observance of the peace agreement.

It was directed at the obligation of the sides to observe strictly commitments which have been assumed that exclude the possibility of any of the sides illegally arresting and detaining persons.

Individual incidents should not be allowed to disturb the global implementation of the peace plan, but at the same time responsibility for individual incidents, which are obviously dangerous, should not be easily overlooked, President Milosevic said. Therefore, every such incident ought to be resolved without hesitation in the interest of progress of the process of building trust between the Serb Republic and the Croat-Muslim federation, in which strict observance of the Dayton agreement is of vital importance.

Serbia: Serbs Pledge To Honor Accord on Srem-Baranja

LD1102210396 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1942 GMT 11 Feb 96

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Kragujevac, Serbia, Feb. 11 (TANJUG)—The president of the Srem-Barania region council said on Sunday [11 February] that the Serbs would meet the commitments of the accord on a peaceful settlement of the region's status, signed with Croatia in November last year.

'We will honor every item of the accord,' Slavko [name indistinct] in a statement to local radio Kragujevac, a town in central Serbia.

The accord, he said, defines clearly that all those who had been citizens of the former Yugoslav republic of Croatia have the right either om return to their homes or receive compensation according to estimates made by an international committee, or to settle down elsewhere in the Srem-Barania region.

'We are doing nothing that is against the accord, and our plans to settle from 8,000 to 10,000 families this year, which is about 30,000 people, is in keeping with the accord,' said Dokmanovic.

He said the program was being worked out, and included not only accommodation, but security for those families, as well as employment, tillable land for farmers, a place in schools, from kinderkarten to college.

Dokmanovic said he hoped the international community would exert strong pressure on Croatia to make it fulfill its commitments.

Serbia: Sandzak Leader on Belgrade's Regional Goals

AU1202115996 Sarajevo DNEVNI AVAZ in Serbo-Croatian 7 Feb 96 p 5

[Interview with Rasim Ljajic, leader of the Party of Democratic Action in Sandzak, by Senad Mesetovic in Sarajevo; date not given: "Negotiations Do Not Mean Treason"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Rasim Ljajic, leader of the party of Democratic Action [SDA] for Sandzak has arrived in Sarajevo to meet with the Bosnia-Herzegovina leadership and agree on future strategies for solving the problems in Sandzak. We used the occasion to interview him. [passage omitted]

[Mesetovic] What is the Serbian authorities' current position on the Sandzak issue?

[Ljajic] The Belgrade regime's goal is clear. It involves an absolute change of the demographic structure of the Sandzak population, simply the destruction of the wedge inserted between Serbia and Montengro and the creation of an ethnic link between the two republics. The other goal is a complete break between Sandzak and Bosnia. At the moment, the Belgrade regime is trying to solve the Sandzak issue by not even broaching it. They are attempting to totally minimize and neutralize Sandzak as a problem; the Yugoslav Left [JUL] in Sandzak was formed with this goal in mind. JUL is supposed to rally those Bosniaks who will discuss our problems in the language of Belgrade.

[Mesetovic] Have there been any changes since the Dayton meeting?

[Ljajic] Unfortunately, there have been no significant changes, at least not as far as Sandzak is concerned. We are afraid that a part of the international community could become saturated with the Yugoslav crisis and simply give up on the remaining problems in the region of the former Yugoslavia. The international community's attention is currently focused on the problem of Kosovo.

[Mesetovic] What do you expect?

[Ljajic] We expect our mother country, Bosnia-Herzegovina, to finally initiate bilateral talks with Serbia on the issue of Sandzak or to keep the international community's attention on Sandzak through various international mediators.

[Mesetovic] It seems that Serbia is applying diplomatic pressure to lessen the internationalization of the Sandzak problem?

Unreasonable Decisions

[Ljajic] What we have here is a change of methods that Belgrade employs in its policy toward Sandzak. Thus, this is not a change of goals, or strategies, but a change of the environment that does not look favorably on us. [sentence as published] [Mesetovic] What do you expect of the upcoming elections? [Ljajic] The elections will probably be held by the end of the year. We should not harbor any illusions that the elections will solve all controversial issues. We are now in an even more difficult positions, since the Novi Pazar Municipal Assembly has passed a law on constituencies which are constituted in such a way that one local community or one village with 70 Serbian voters gives one deputy in the same way as a village with 3,000 Bosniak voters. [Box 1, p 5] A Joint List [subhead] [Mesetovic] What is political cooperation with other parties like prior to elections? [Ljajic] Prior to the elections that will be held in Serbia and Montenegro, we have send all political parties and organizations in Sandzak an open letter expressing our wish to form a joint election list for all levels. Because of the high census, the fragmented constituencies, and the many political parties that focus on the Bosniak electorate, there is a danger that none of these parties will achieve the 5 percent threshold at the republican, or the 7 percent of votes at the federal level. This is our new attempt at consolidating political parties in Sandzak and finally uniting the Bosniak political body.

[Box 2, p 5]

They Are Offering Houses

[Ljajic] The authorities are trying to change the ethnic balance in Sandzak. In Priboj you already have 300 requests from Serbs from the vicinity of Sarajevo who are offering their houses in exchange of houses in Priboj, Pljevlja, and Prijepolje. This a fresh attempt at increasing the buffer between Sandzak and Bosnia.

[Box 3, p 5]

Preserve the Population

[Mesetovic] What are the political demands of Sandzak Bosniaks?

[Ljajic] Our political goal was defined three years ago and it is contained in the Memorandum on the Special Status for Sandzak; it actually represents the starting point for negotiations with the Belgrade authorities. However, we must primarily do everything to preserve the population in Sandzak because without it every political goal becomes irrational.

Serbia: Milosevic Receives Hungarian Party Leader

LD0902163196 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1441 GMT 9 Feb 96

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Feb 9 (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic received on Friday Gyula Thuirmer, the president of the Hungarian Workers' Party.

Milosevic and Thuirmer agreed on the need to further promote good neighbourly and friendly relations between their two countries in all spheres, Milosevic's office said.

Given the fact that Yugoslavia and Hungary share many interests they should contribute to the affirmation of equal relations between countries and peoples.

The two officials said that it was crucial to strengthen peace and stability in the region with a full respect for the right of all peoples and states to decide freely on their development.

Montenegro

Montenegro: Djukanovic Denies Karadzic Refused Entry

LD0902183796 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1815 GMT 9 Feb 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Podgorica, Feb 9 (TANJUG)—Montenegrin Prime Minister Milo Djukanovic denied Friday in Podgorica that the President of Republika Srpska [Serb Republic] Radovan Karadjic was denied entry in Montenegro to visit his sick mother.

The relations between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Republika Srpska are precisely regulated and according to these regulations, Radovan Karadzic can enter Yugoslavia and consequently Montenegro, Djukanovic said at a press conference.

Montenegro: PM Demands Faster Privatization

LD0902200196 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1728 GMT 9 Feb 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Podgorica, Feb. 9 (TANJUG)—Montenegrin Prime Minister Milo Djukanovic demanded on Friday the speeding up of the process of privatization of the Yugoslav economy warning that otherwise the foreign investors could lose interest in Yugoslavia.

Speaking to domestic and foreign journalists in Podgorica, Djukanovic said that the Yugoslav economy, following the suspension of the sanctions, has been slow to join the world economy.

Djukanovic said that for Montenegro, the most controversial issue of the Yugoslav government's economic program is that there is no clear orientation towards the intensification of the process of privatization, which is a condition for th market and total economic development.

'We could quickly face disinterest, mistrust and the pulling out of foreign partners from doing business and investing in the Yugoslav economy,' Djukanovic said.

Kosovo

Kosovo: Rugova Urges Independence Rallies in Europe

AU1002020096 Paris AFP in English
1734 GMT 9 Feb 96

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Pristina, Yugoslavia, Feb 9 (AFP)—A leader of Kosovo's separatist Albanian majority called Friday [9 February] for a wave of demonstrations across Europe in support of their claim for independence from Serbia.

Ibrahim Rugova, who heads the Kosovo Democratic League, the biggest Albanian opposition party, said the rallies could not take place in Kosovo "through fear of an escalation in inter-ethnic conflicts, which (Serb) authorities are always trying to provoke."

"I ask our compatriots across Europe to organise peaceful demonstrations in March and April to back our demand to obtain a Republic of Kosovo," he told a news conference in Pristina, the region's capital. [passage omitted]

BULK RATE
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
PERMIT NO. 352
MERRIFIELD, VA.

This is a U.S. Government publication produced by the Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS). Its contents in no way represent the policies, views, or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

FBIS collects, translates, disseminates, and analyzes foreign open-source information on behalf of the U.S. Government. Its publications may contain copyrighted material. ***Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.***

— Bracketed indicators before the first sentence of each item describe the way in which the material was processed by FBIS.

— Headlines and all bracketed explanatory notes are supplied by FBIS.

— Personal and place names are rendered in accordance with the decisions of the U.S. Board on Geographic Names as adapted by FBIS. Unverified names in radio and television material appear in parentheses and are spelled phonetically; words and phrases in parentheses preceded by a question mark are unclear in the original and deduced from context.

SUBSCRIPTION INFORMATION

U.S. Government Customers

For a list of FBIS products, to subscribe to an FBIS publication, or to indicate a change of address contact:

FBIS
P.O. Box 2604
Washington, DC 20013-2604
Telephone: (202) 338-6735
FAX: (703) 733-6042

Non-Government Customers

Subscriptions are available from the National Technical Information Service:

NTIS
5285 Port Royal Road
Springfield, VA 22161
Telephone: (703) 487-4630
FAX: (703) 321-8547

New subscribers should expect a 30-day delay in receipt of the first issue.